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**Rebels Against the Dream**  
The American White Nationalist Novel  
and the Culture of Defeat

A dissertation written in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Ph.D. in Humanities at the University of Silesia  
in Katowice

Thesis director: Paweł Jędrzejko, D.Litt, Ph.D.  
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KATOWICE 2017

INSTYTUT KULTUR I LITERATUR ANGLOJĘZYCZNYCH  
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**Sen o rebelii**  
Amerykańska powieść białego nacjonalizmu  
a „kultura klęski”

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Promotor: dr hab. Paweł Jędrzejko  
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## Preface

I embarked upon this project nearly four years ago not to take sides: I was driven by the need to seek and find answers to questions that have affected me personally, both as an American and as a Southerner, both as a human and as a scholar. Suspended between mythology and resentment, between glory and shame, between the security of family home and the violence of the world outside, my need to explore the essence of what seems to be the unresolved duality of America have gradually been gaining substantiality since the time when I was 13 and terrified, watching the 1979 Greensboro Riot live on TV, a riot in which Ku Klux Klansmen and neo-Nazis killed five Communist Workers Party members in a “Death to the Klan” rally in North Carolina. The radical contrast of that experience with the almost idyllic stories my maternal grandmother told me about what it was like growing up in Catawba County, North Carolina in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the memories of her grandfather, a Confederate soldier who had survived Reconstruction, was exacerbated even further when my father, seeing my interest in history, purchased a child’s magazine for me when I was 10: a magazine featuring a Reconstruction Klansman in full regalia on the cover and scurrilous article title “America’s First Terrorists: The Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan”. Schadenfreude. Mixed feelings. Confusion.

Further experiences made the love-hate feeling with respect to the South even more acute, with the culture and demographics of my home area in North Carolina between the 1970s and 1980s slowly shifting to a more diverse makeup. My living experience of the thus far unspoken, yet tangibly unsettling duality, only received a “face” when I moved to Europe to study the history of ethnic cleanings in former Yugoslavia for my M.A. The first hand experience of besieged Sarajevo, the experience of a war that broke out as a result of a profound, complex ethnic conflict irreducible to any “commonsense” phrasings, gave me a very clear idea that the sense of duality I carried within me may have had roots as deep as those that flourished into a full blown war based on a refusal to understand that which had destroyed and traumatized the Balkans. Having seen what I saw, I could not help but wonder if ignorance and partisan side-taking would not take the United States down the same path. This work, therefore, is both a personal journey of exploration and illumination and an attempt to shed light upon phenomena frequently reduced to illogical *non sequiturs* in political manifestos. Within these pages, I am not taking sides. Far from it: I attempt to explain to myself and others the forces at work within American society that have the potential to ‘Balkanize’ the United States into ethnic nations, a fate that has befallen many multiethnic states in the modern era.

\* \* \*

A work such as this, which combines different theories to explain a complex, multifaceted issue which escalates emotions both within academia and outside of it, could not have been accomplished without the invaluable input of wide cast of actors. Above all, I would like to thank the Authors of the novels which this thesis addresses, the central *dramatis personae* who took the time to answer my questions—H. A. Covington, D. A. Hanks, Gregory Kay, and Billy Roper. While not all of their comments or ideas made it into this work, my appreciation for the time they took to explain certain intricacies of the American white nationalist movement and the novels they wrote is immense.

Professor Paweł Jędrzejko has been a both a rock of academic support and a ‘weed whacker’ to the more outlandish ideas and superfluous verbiage in the text. He has been a wonderful supervisor and a great friend, one whose friendship has never wavered even when our debates over what America means have gotten heated. Dr. Marcin Mazurek has been the ‘go to’ guy when it came to the theories proposed in Chapters Two and Three. His broad expertise in literary and cultural theory has made this dissertation more solidly grounded than it would have been without him.

On a more personal note, the supporting cast is also widely diverse. First, I would like to thank my parents for always indulging my academic research; one could not ask for better. My father always took the time to indulge my passion for books and my mother was a great sounding board for my stranger ideas on American and Southern culture. Coming as I do from a traditional Southern American family, it is amazing that I found a family on the other side of the world that treated me as one of their own. My parents-in-law kept me fed with great Polish and Silesian food throughout the time it took to write this dissertation and my debt parents on both sides of the Atlantic can never be repaid.

Above all, I would like to thank my wife. She has been a muse, critic, and my best friend throughout the grueling process of bringing this dissertation to life. She has been the bedrock of my life for the past four years and her undying support has never wavered.

## American White Nationalist Novels (1834–2015): A Timeline

A Note to the Reader: This is the first attempt to catalogue every white nationalist novel that has been published in the United States from 1834, when the early stirrings of the genre occurred, to 2015. This list excludes the many and voluminous writings of the Yellow Peril novels, which have been explored more or less extensively in two books, namely William F. Wu and his *Yellow Peril!: A Record of the Chinese in American Literature* and John Kuo Wei Tchen and Dylan Yeats, editors and their *Yellow Peril: An Archive of Anti-Asian Fear*. While there have been many books chronicling the history of the white nationalist movement in the United States, no scholar has delineated the development of white nationalist fiction as a genre. This short historical outline offers a point of departure for the present work as well as a starting point for other scholars, who might wish to further foster research in the field. The publication information is based on the bibliographic data contained in the printed editions and eBooks. This list takes a hybrid, chronological and thematic, approach and contains short annotations on the novels.

Singling out the “white nationalist novel” as a separate genre, which this entire work hopes to substantiate, I rely upon a specific definition of what “white nationalism” is. Bearing in mind that the adjective “white,” already encodes the idea of race—the definition hinges upon the unique, polar, conceptualization of that idea. It is easy to observe that in one way or another, the writers of the novels discussed throughout this work operate within a context which inextricably connects race and identity. Even in the earliest stage of the development of the white nationalist novel (as proposed below), where the question of race is addressed indirectly, being subordinated to the idea of independence for the South: Southern independence would have guaranteed that blacks would have remained slaves in perpetuity, if not *de jure* then, at least *de facto*, which clearly juxtaposes “white” against “black” as qualifications of social, as much as racial, identity. Furthermore, the novels below view the white race as the race descended solely from Europe: “white” does not only mean “non-African”: although in contemporary English “white” is a synonym for “Caucasian,” or (in the 20<sup>th</sup> century) “Aryan,” within the perspective of white nationalism it excludes peoples of Asian (whether South Asian or Far Eastern) or of Middle-Eastern descent, which in white nationalist discourse, includes Jews. Finally, the genre of modern white nationalist fiction, since 1920, revolves around the recurrent theme that the thus defined white race is under threat of physical extinction and the novels below explore this issue. This aspect is particularly apparent in texts published since the late 1970s.

Owing to the fact that it is possible to identify recurrent motifs setting the genre apart from other, similarly oriented, literary works, it is also possible to identify the continuity and change within the genre by means of identifying shifts in which these motifs become dominant across the history of the genre. Such an observation allows one to group white nationalist novels into distinctive cycles; this grouping provides the reader with a historical foundation to help orient him/herself in the various re/incarnations of American white nationalism. This statement, however, requires two further clarifications:



- 1) While the terminal date of Cycle One is clearly keyed to the beginning of the Civil War, it must be explained that in the case of cycles two and three the dates were not arbitrarily selected: cycle two, historically, concurs with cycle three (though cycle three lasts longer). Atwell Whitney's Yellow Peril novel *The Almond-Eyed: The Great Agitator; a Story of the Day*, which was published in 1878, marks the start of Cycle Three, while the start of Cycle Two occurred in 1882, with what the author has dubbed the Redeemer novels and what is popularly known as the novels of the Klan Apologia. Even though this work does not discuss the Yellow Peril, it is important to observe that the onset of Cycle Three (which contains the so-called first Red Scare prose) coincides with the publication of the first novel of the Yellow Peril genre. The Yellow Peril subgenre also includes the so-called White Slave novels of the 1880s, which frequently revolve around the idea of a white woman becoming a victim of the opium trade. Indeed, some of the novels included in Cycles Two and Three contain elements of both White Slave and Yellow Peril narratives, with the First Red Scare and Black Scare featured in Thomas Dixon's novels in the first decade of the 1900s.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, it is felt that the ideologies underlying the first three cycles culminate with the publication of 1941's *Sown in the Darkness, A.D. 2000* by Richard Twiford.
- 2) The two major Canadian white nationalist novels, Hilda Glyn-Ward's *Writing on the Wall: A Prophecy for the Future* which is a Yellow Peril novel (published in 1921), and Fred B. Woodward's *Highway to Valhalla*, published in 2015, have been omitted from the list as has the only white nationalist revolutionary Australian novel—*Survival of the Species* by C. Stewart (2000), since they do not deal with the particular situation present in the United States. The author of the present work is aware of various white nationalist novels published in the other major white English-speaking countries (Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and South Africa), as well as those published in languages other than English (including French, German, Italian, Russian, and Swedish), however, even a brief overview of these works would make the present work unwieldy.

With these assertions in mind, the list proposed below should simultaneously be seen as the result of the testing of the hypothesis of the historical interdependence between trauma and group memory, substantiated throughout this work, and the outcome of the thematic contextualization of the novels discussed in the following chapters within the discourse of the “culture of defeat.” White nationalist prose, however, does not start with the collapse of the “old” order of the South, which is why Cycle One opens with the ferments preceding the outbreak of the American Civil War.

### **Cycle One: Pre-Civil War Southern Nationalist Novels (1834–1860).**

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<sup>1</sup> Dixon did not try his hand at the Yellow Peril prose.

- 1834 Tucker, Nathaniel Beverley. *The Partisan Leader: A Tale of the Future*. [Originally printed in Washington, D.C. by Duff Green. Reprinted by Rudd & Carleton, New York, 1861]. Paperback edition. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1971. Reprinted in many editions. This is the first novel to imagine a Southern confederacy and the independence of the South. The novel, like Ruffin's 1860 novel mentioned below, is not overtly racist but rather oriented towards an examination of why the South should be independent; however, it does feature a small group of partisans that are dedicated to the cause of Southern independence. This group fights an oppressive federal authority and, in that sense, can be seen as a precursor to the white nationalist genre, the TEOTWAWKI (The End of the World as We Know It) genre, as well as the various 2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment/Christian Patriot genres.<sup>2</sup>
- 1860 Ruffin, Edmund. *Anticipations of the Future: To Serve as Lessons for the Present Time*. [Originally published by J. W. Randolph, Richmond, VA. Reprinted—Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1972. The Civil War was only one year away when Ruffin, the Southern “fire eater” and secessionist, penned this novel. Using the voice of an English newspaper reporter, Ruffin imagined a Confederacy and Civil War with the South emerging victorious, once England and France intervened on the South's behalf. While not necessarily racist by current standards, the novel was influential in establishing the reasons that the South would fight, racial separation in the form of the perpetuation of slavery being one of those reasons. Fred Hobson commented in *Tell About the South: The Southern Rage to Explain* that Ruffin's novel was his “fervent plea for Southern nationhood and victory over the ‘perfidious’ Yankees” (Hobson 1983, 28).

### **Cycle Two: Klan Apologia/Redeemer Fiction (1882-1924).**

- 1882 Matthews, Brinsley. *Monon Ou, Or Well-Nigh Reconstructed: A Political Novel*. Originally published by E. J. Hale & Son, Publishers, New York. Paperback edition. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2010. Matthews' novel is a political coming of age novel set in the Reconstruction era in the mountains of North Carolina, where Matthews was a native. The main character, Archie Moran, starts out as a Republican and Unionist who supports the Reconstruction Acts after the Civil War. However, as the novel proceeds, he becomes disenchanted with Reconstruction as envisioned by the Radical Republicans and starts to support the Democratic Party and the Ku Klux Klan.
- 1884 Floyd, N. J. [Capt. CSA]. *Thorns in the Flesh: [A Romance of the War and the Ku-Klux Periods. A VOICE OF VINDICATION FROM THE SOUTH IN ANSWER TO "A FOOL'S ERRAND" AND OTHER SLANDERS]*. Philadelphia, PA: Hubbard Bros., Publishers. Floyd's novel, along with Matthews' novel mentioned above, started the Klan Kraze that would come to fruition in the first two decades of 1900. This novel begins before the ACW and tracks the development of a character that starts out as a ‘reluctant rebel’ and, who,

<sup>2</sup> This genre encompasses a few subgenres, among them 2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment novels, ‘Prepper’ novels, and America Invaded/Subverted works. This genre, along with the novels under discussion in this work, have been little studied by scholars, therefore, the collective name for the genre has yet to be agreed upon.

- after the war, becomes a supporter of the Ku Klux Klan and the racial segregation that it supported. It is a perfect example of the sweeping type of fiction that gave the pre- and post-Civil War South the moniker, as Wolfgang Schivelbusch dubs it “Walter Scottland.”
- 1895 Jerome, Thomas J. *Ku Klux Klan, No. 40: A Novel*. Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton, Printers and Binders. Like the two preceding novels, Jerome’s novel is an attempt to paint an ‘honorable’ picture of the Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan. While not as racist as later novels, Jerome’s novel does envision the process by which the Reconstruction Klan protected white Southern society, and white Southern women in particular, from the trepidations of the freedmen, scalawags (Southerners who supported the freedmen or otherwise helped the Federal forces) and ‘carpetbaggers’ (Northerners who came down South to make a quick buck).
- 1899 Page, Thomas N. *Red Rock: A Chronicle of Reconstruction*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons. While not as racist as Dixon’s writings, Page was known for perpetuating the Southern vision of Reconstruction as being bad for the South, and this novel is no exception to that rule.
- 1902 Dixon, Thomas. *The Leopard’s Spots: A Romance of the White Man’s Burden, 1865-1900*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. Reprinted in many editions. Dixon’s first novel and the first novel in the *Reconstruction Trilogy* (the second novel is *The Clansman*—published in 1905, with the third being *The Traitor*—published in 1907). One of the most famous of white nationalist novels from the First Cycle, *The Leopard’s Spots* tracks the political rise of a son of a Confederate major killed during the war. Dixon’s writing has been described as ‘epic’ and ‘sweeping’ by his admirers and as ‘tedious,’ ‘pedantic’ and ‘horrid’ by his many detractors. Dixon’s first novel is an examination of racial attitudes from the author’s perspective and the writing towards blacks is defamatory and debasing, reinforcing the myth that blacks have at best, the mentality of children or, at worst, are violent, raping murderers.
- 1903 Tyler, Charles W. *The K.K.K.* New York: North River Publishing House. Tyler’s novel is set in the western hills of Tennessee, west of Nashville. While described by the author as an “anti-mob violence” novel, it exhorts the Klan for its actions in keeping law and order after Reconstruction. Furthermore, it reinforces the idea that the Klan was successful in protecting white women from the “ravages” of freedmen and “unscrupulous” whites (read—carpetbaggers and scalawags).
- 1905 Dixon, Thomas. *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. Reprinted in many editions. The most popular white nationalist novel before the publication of *The Turner Diaries* in 1978, Dixon’s *The Clansman* was rumored to have sold 1 book for every 8 Americans when it was published. Part of the novel was used by Dixon for the screenplay of *The Birth of a Nation* and made Dixon a millionaire at a time when lunch at a nice restaurant cost a nickel (\$.05 USD). The novel revolves around two families, one Northern, the Stoneman’s and one Southern, the Cameron’s. These families are intertwined both on the battlefield and off. The novel is a

typical 'reunion romance' but also paints the portrait of a Confederate war hero who becomes the head of the KKK in his area. The novel is dedicated to Thomas Dixon's uncle, Capt. W. H. McCaffery (C.S.A.), who was the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan for Cleveland County, North Carolina, a hotbed of Klan activity during Reconstruction.

- 1907 Dixon, Thomas. *The Traitor: A Story of the Fall of the Invisible Empire*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. Reprinted in many editions.
- 1924 Page, Thomas N. *The Red Riders*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Page's last novel, which was finished posthumously by his brother, is a fictional representation of a Ku Klux Klan-like organization that saves a Southern community from the 'ravages' of the freedmen (freed slaves under the leadership of Black/Radical Republicans), carpetbaggers, and scalawags. From a certain perspective, Page's novels are more realistic to how the Klan formed in the South during Reconstruction than Dixon's.

### **Cycle Three: The First Red Scare(1878–1944).**

- 1903 Dixon, Thomas. *The One Woman: A Story of Modern Utopia*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. The first novel in Dixon's 'Socialist Trilogy'.
- 1909 Dixon, Thomas. *Comrades: A Story of Social Adventure in California*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, Publishers. The second novel in Dixon's 'Socialist Trilogy' examines the establishment of a commune by a well-intentioned young man and the "absurdity" of said commune and the man's redemption or conversion from Socialist to American patriot/white nationalist.
- 1911 Dixon, Thomas. *The Root of Evil: A Novel*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. The third novel in Dixon's 'Socialist Trilogy'.
- 1915 Mighels, Ella Sterling. *Fairy Tale of the White Man: Told From the Gates of Sunset*. San Francisco, CA: Pacific Publication Co. This work is a combination fairy tale/novel that was aimed at children, young adults and adults using the guise of an epic poem. Its basis is to tell the "glorious" story of the Anglo-Saxon race from its earliest beginnings to the conquest/settling of the United States by whites and to project the future of the race. It serves as both racial propaganda and as a warning against racial impurity.
- 1916 Dunn, J. Allan. *The Peril of the Pacific*. Originally published in *People's* magazine in 1916. Paperback edition. Elkhorn, CA: Off-Trail Publications, 2011. Dunn was a very prolific author of pulps in the 1920s and 1930s. This novel, which was originally produced as a serial in 1916, relates the story of a Japanese invasion of California and the subsequent battle for San Francisco. The Japanese are finally driven out by a brilliant young white man, who wins the girl and witnesses his nemesis commit suicide on the last page of the novel.
- 1919 Chamber, Robert W. *The Crimson Tide: A Novel*. New York: A. L. Burt Company, Publishers. Chamber was an author of suspense novels filled with dark imagery and visions of the occult. This novel is a Yellow Peril and first Red Scare novel very similar to Dunn's novel, *The Peril of the Pacific* and Twiford's 1941 novel *Sown in the Darkness*.

- 1923 Brown, Egbert. *The Final Awakening: A Story of the Ku Klux Klan*. Brunswick, GA: Glover Brothers Publishers, 1923. *The Final Awakening* is a political polemic, written in the form of a novel about the advantages of membership in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or Jazz Era Klan and the reasons for its existence.
- 1929 Gibbons, Floyd. *The Red Napoleon*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, Publishers. Originally published as a serial in *Collier's Magazine* in 1922. Gibbons' novel features an eastern [read—Asian] despot, the Khan, intent on destroying the white race through forced miscegenation. The novel features a newspaper reporter (which is what Gibbons was during World War One. Indeed, he has been the only civilian to be awarded the Marine Star of Valor for his actions in the battle of Belleau Wood of 1918) who is interviewing the fallen Khan while he is in exile after being defeated by a coalition of white nations. The novel tracks the Khan's rise from ruler of the embryonic Soviet Union to conquering most of the known world and enforcing a mixing of the races. Eventually, a great sea battle is fought off the coast of Florida and the Khan is defeated. Like Napoleon, he is exiled to a relatively uninhabited island to live out the rest of his days.
- 1939 Dixon, Thomas. *The Flaming Sword*. Originally published in Atlanta, GA by Monarch Publishing. Paperback edition. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2005. Dixon's answer to his critics, published two years before his death. The novel centers on the adventures of a pair of idealistic young white people, who through a series of misfortunes discover that the black population of New York City and the United States has been radicalized by Communist forces. In essence, Dixon's final novel blazes a path that Twiford, Pierce, Covington, and others would tread.
- 1941 Twiford, William R. *Sown in the Darkness, A.D. 2000*. New York: Orlin Tremaine & Company. Twiford's novel is the quintessential Yellow Peril, Red Scare, and Black Scare novel combined. The novel orbits around the Nationalists (read—white nationalists) and the Cosmocrats (read—Communists) and the conversion of Felix Hyde, the Cosmocrat leader, to conservative, white Christianity and the white nationalist (Nationalist) cause. It is also the first white nationalist novel to consider Jews (called 'Gypsies' in the novel) as enemies of the white race. This idea is exemplified by one of the main character's love interest, who is kidnapped as a young girl by Jews and sold to a circus.
- 1944 Judah, H. Ben. *When? A Prophetic Novel of the Very Near Future*. Vancouver, B. C.: British Israel Association of Greater Vancouver. One in a series of novels published by the British Israel Association of Greater Vancouver (later known as Christian Identity)—the other novels being *Mog and Magog* and *Armageddon*. The novel illustrates Christian Identity beliefs in a series of chapters surrounding the protagonist who is lost in a dystopian world, and who gradually becomes "washed in the blood" of true Christianity (i.e. white Christian Identity as opposed to the Jewish-centered Christianity). While *When?* is fairly easy to acquire, the other novels are impossible to obtain.

#### **Cycle Four: American White Nationalism Finds Its Voice (1975–2001).**

- 1978 Macdonald, Andrew. *The Turner Diaries*. Originally published as a serial in *White Power* magazine 1975-1976. Paperback edition. Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books. Probably the most infamous and famous white nationalist novel ever published. It was once described by the FBI as “the Bible” of the far right. The novel has served as inspiration to two groups of white nationalists—the Order, who committed crimes such as counterfeiting, armored car robbery, and murder in the Pacific Northwest in the 1980s and Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, who carried out the Oklahoma City Bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah building in 1995. Also, the novel sets the stage for later white nationalist novels, such as *The Brigade* by H. A. Covington, *Patriot Act: A Novel of Resistance* by D. A. Hanks, among others.
- 1985 Macdonald, Andrew. *Hunter*. Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books. *Hunter* is William Pierce’s fictional ode to the ‘lone wolf’ or ‘lone gunman.’ Overall, the novel examines a man who targets mixed-race couples and murders them. However, he is soon coopted by someone who sees the potential of assassination and the ‘Hunter’s’ unique skillset. Actually, the novel is a tribute to the would-be assassin of Larry Flynt and the murderer of NAACP leader Colin Jordan, (not to be confused with the British neo-Nazi leader of the same name), Richard W. Snell. Snell was executed in Arkansas for killing a black Arkansas state trooper on the same day that tax protestor and white nationalist folk hero Gordon Kahl was killed in a shootout with Federal agents in Missouri.
- 1988 Hoffman, Michael A. *A Candidate for the Order*. New York: New Traditionalist Press. Hoffman’s novel centers on a man who is caught between two competing forces: the local progressive/socialist party and the white nationalist party. Because the allies of the progressives attack his family (the attackers are black, white, Asian, and multiracial), he turns to the white nationalist party for support and finds that he has a penchant for organizing and he discovers his true calling in the party. The ‘Order’ in the title refers to The Order or The Silent Brotherhood—a white nationalist terrorist organization in the 1980s led by Robert J. Matthews which included the coiner of the famous 14 Words, David Lane. Those words being: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.” This is normally followed by: “Because the beauty of the white woman should never perish from the earth”.
- 1991 Calverhall, Randolph D. *Serpent’s Walk*. Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books. This novel was written by a science fiction writer who supported William Pierce’s efforts. It is set in the near future where a security consultant, who, though once involved with Asian (read—Indian) women, through a series of events, ends up becoming a white nationalist and leader of an underground movement to overthrow the progressive government of “race mixers and One Worlders.” It features many of the elements of past and future white nationalist novels including redemption of the main character/his conversion to white nationalism, a small guerrilla group fighting against overwhelming odds, strong female characters who fight, kill and die “like men,” etc. Furthermore, this novel includes elements of science fiction in that it imagines a super-virus that comes close to wiping out

all non-whites on earth. This motif was most recently examined in Billy Roper's *Hasten the Day* trilogy of 2014-2015.

- 1992 Burke, Emory. *The Unlifted Curse*. Eclectic, AL: American Nationalist Publications. One of the first modern neo-Confederate novels which has gone completely unnoticed by scholars, Burke's novel is based on a literal reading of the Bible, especially the Old Testament. The basic premise in the novel is that the "unlifted curse" in the title is the curse of race-mixing, or miscegenation. It chronicles the years 1856–1877, examining the pre-Civil War South, the Civil War and Reconstruction, with the characters weaving in and out of the story and dealing with various problems but always relying on their faith in God, and their undying loyalty to the South's tradition of racial segregation.
- 1992 Walthers, Joseph. *Children of the Ice*. Hayden Lake, ID: Church of Jesus Christ Christian Aryan Nations. This novel was published by the infamous Aryan Nations. In essence, the novel centers on several white street children who are rescued by an SS-style organization that lives according to ancient Nordic pagan law in various compounds throughout the country. This organization is paramilitary in nature and trains the children to be future warriors in the race war that will eventually tear the United States apart. These children will be the ones to save the white race in the United States and establish a new white nation. It also examines various themes such as white nationalist ideas on sexuality, redemption, and racial spirit.
- 1993 Gunnarsson, O. T. *Hear the Cradle Song*. Bement, IL: World War II Books. A novel based around the concept of social Darwinism, Gunnarsson's *Hear the Cradle Song* envisions a dystopian United States that has descended into a 'road warrior' type landscape with various non-white gangs fighting for supremacy. The whites in the novel have formed safe zones in the Pacific Northwest, where guerrilla groups strike out to the major cities of California, Nevada and beyond to rescue whites from the chaos that surrounds them. It is on one of these missions that the story takes place, involving a couple and their mentally and physically handicapped son, about whom one of the white revolutionaries states, "No, if they loved him they would have mercifully ended his life at the moment of his birth rather than condemning him to a sickening existence like the one he had. But in our society caring for misfits and degenerates is being *just like Jesus!*" (Gunnarson, *Hear the Cradle Song*, 157, emphasis in the original).
- 1998 Beary, Kevin. *The Savaged States of America: a futuristic fantasy*. No place of publisher: In Qua Urbe. This novel is a parody of political correctness, diversity, multiculturalism and the anti-gun culture that exists on the extreme political left-wing of the Democratic Party in the United States. The novel paints a picture of a 'feminized' rump United States, with Aztlan established in the Southwest, along with a New Africa in the Deep South. Aztlan has returned to its Aztec ways, complete with human sacrifice, while New Africa resembles the worst parts of Africa (tribal warfare, rapes, clitorectomies, etc.). The story centers on a young man and his female European Union counterpart who fall in love as they watch the 'feminized' United States invaded and destroyed by the forces of New Africa.

- 2000 Lenard, Lloyd E. *The Last Confederate Flag*. Baltimore, MD: AmErica House. Lenard's work is a neo-Confederate novel that examines how one Georgia town deals with the Confederate battle flag controversy. The protagonist is portrayed as a passionate, but simple man and his adversaries are the Black Panthers and their white, liberal allies. One elderly man states during a town council meeting, "You can't force people to associate with or love other people. We got a right to choose our friends and you're trying to pass laws to take it away from us. It won't work" (Lenard, *The Last Confederate Flag*, 202). This quote is the essence of the neo-Confederate revolt against the attitudes of diversity and multiculturalism.
- 2000 Murdoch, John. *Nordic Front: The Storm of the North*. No place of publisher: Victory Media Publishers.
- 2001 Kendall, Ward. *Hold Back This Day*. San Francisco, CA: Counter-Currents Publishing. 2nd Edition. Republished 2011. Described by H. A. Covington as a "white man's 1984," *Hold Back This Day* is a dystopian science fiction novel in which the main protagonist, Jeff Huxton, transforms from a mild-mannered teacher and supporter of the World Gov (One World Government) into a white nationalist revolutionary. It features many of the themes that would become frequent in future white nationalist novels such as: redemption of the main character (a constant theme in white nationalist novels), self-sacrifice, loathing towards the idea of a 'one world' government and society, hatred of political correctness, denigration of the ideas of diversity and multiculturalism, and exposing the hypocrisy of so-called progressives.

#### **Cycle Five: The White Separatist Novel (2003-Present).**

- 2003 Covington, H. A. *The Hill of the Ravens*. No place of publisher: 1<sup>st</sup> Books. The first novel in the *Northwest Novels* saga is set in the Northwest American Republic (the NAR), the fictitious whites-only country where homosexuality, pornography, non-whites and Jews are not permitted. The action revolves around a mystery set in the War for Independence and the search for a traitor. Covington's novel imagines the country that is envisioned by Pastor Richard Butler of Aryan Nations and Order member David Lane, among others.
- 2004 Bramhall, John. *Deep Blue: A Novel of Racial Conflict*. No place of publisher: 1<sup>st</sup> Books. Bramhall's novel is a science fiction "morality tale" on the "stupidity of human charity" and "an attempt to explain racial suicide" similar to the 1973 French novel by Jean Raspail, *Camp of the Saints*. In essence, the novel describes a peace-loving world that allows a group of aliens to settle. These aliens, who are of a different color, have a completely opposite belief system and believe that their hosts have to cater to their every whim, thus creating havoc in the once idyllic society.



- 2004 Covington, H. A. *A Distant Thunder*. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse. The second novel in H. A. Covington's *Northwest Novels* series describes the adventures of Shane Ryan. In the novel, a future historian is interviewing Ryan about his experiences in the Northwest Volunteer Army (NVA) and how the Northwest American Republic came into being. The novel also examines the various religious tendencies among the nascent white separatist movement in the Pacific Northwest.
- 2004 Hanks, D. A. *Patriot Act: A Novel of Resistance*. Charlotte, NC: Patriot Publications.
- 2004 Jordan, Colin. *The Uprising*. Milwaukee, WI: NS Publications. (Written by a British neo-Nazi and set in England—not an American white nationalist novel but published in the U.S. and distributed by an American publisher). Colin Jordan also wrote *Merrie England, 2000*, a part-polemic, part-dystopian look at the United Kingdom in the new century.
- 2004 Kay, Gregory. *The Third Revolution*. Lexington, KY: No publisher given. Kay's first novel in the neo-Confederate tetralogy describes how a band of neo-Confederate freedom fighters fight a colonial war to separate the former Confederate states from the United States. In many ways, Kay's tetralogy mirrors Covington's *Northwest Novels*. In this first novel, Kay centers the action on the Confederate battle flag controversy in South Carolina. The main character is a white policeman who gets involved with the neo-Confederate guerrillas after he sees Federal troops shooting unarmed white Confederate flag supporters at a rally. The riot that follows the shootings is blamed on the KKK.
- 2004 Lane, David. *KD Rebel*. No place of publisher: No publisher given. Order member David Lane's novella draws a stark portrait of America in the not too distant future. The cities are on the verge of collapse and the country's economic system has almost ground to a halt. As the country slowly descends into chaos, bands of whites revert back to their pagan/Nordic roots and establish tribes based in the Pacific Northwest and northern parts of Colorado and Utah from which they raid neighboring white areas for supplies, and women, all the while fighting against the forces of the United States federal government and attacking non-white areas to expand white living space.
- 2004 Wilson, Scott. *Utopia X: A Novel*. New York: iUniverse, Inc.
- 2005 Covington, H. A. *A Mighty Fortress*. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse. The third novel published in Covington's *Northwest Novels* series. The story revolves around the adventures of Cody Brock, who becomes a witness to history, as he takes part in the Longview Peace Conference that ends the five-year Northwest Rebellion. The Longview Conference establishes the NAR (North American Republic), an all-white nation, in the Pacific Northwest. Brock was raised in a Jewish household after his father was arrested for striking a black man in a bar fight and Cody and his sister were put up for adoption. He escapes and eventually makes his way into the revolutionary Northwest Volunteer Army. Therefore, the novel paints a portrait of Jewish religion and culture from a white nationalist perspective.
- 2005 Molyneaux, Kenneth. *White Empire*. No place of publisher: No publisher. The author is a leader within Matthew Hale's Church of the Creator sect of the Christian Identity

- movement. The novel is set in the future when the world has been divided into races and multicultural nations no longer exist. The “White Empire” described in the novel stretches from Europe to Africa and beyond. The novel revolves around the problems encountered by the leaders of the ‘Empire’ as they stamp out the rest of the various enemies within their territory.
- 2005 O’Malley, Sean. *The Cadre*. No place of publisher: Sean O’Malley. O’Malley’s self-published novel is a tale based on the beginnings and activities of the 1980s white nationalist terrorist group The Order. The ‘Cadre’ of the novel is the basis of the white revolutionary party fighting ZOG—the Zionist Occupation Government—the Federal government in an attempt to establish a white homeland.
- 2006 Kay, Gregory. *The Third Revolution: The Long Knives*. Lexington, KY: No publisher given. The second novel in the *TTR* series sees the consolidation of power around a select group of guerrilla fighters and their continuing struggle to eject the United States from former Confederate territory.
- 2006 Kendall, Ward. *The Towers of Eden*. San Francisco, CA: Counter-Currents Publishing. Republished by Alternate Publishing Company, 2012. Ward Kendall’s second and lesser-known novel is a dystopian examination of a man’s finding his true spirit as the world slowly comes to an end, through overpopulation and environmental collapse.
- 2007 Hanks, D. A. *The Green Day Prophecies: A Novel of Global U.N. Terror*. Charlotte, NC: Patriot Publications.
- 2008 Covington, H. A. *The Brigade*. No place of publisher: Xlibris Corporation. Described by many white nationalists as the opus of current white nationalist fiction, *The Brigade* fictitiously portrays how a white nationalist army arises and the revolutionary steps it takes in fighting a colonial war in the Pacific Northwest to eject the government of the United States and ethnically cleanse all Jews, homosexuals, and non-whites from said territory.
- 2008 Kay, Gregory. *The Third Revolution: The Black Flag*. Lexington, KY: No publisher given. The third novel in Kay’s *TTR* series sees the neo-Confederate revolution gaining in momentum and eventually, forcing the United States out of the former Confederate states and the reestablishment of the Confederate States of America, with the addition of Kentucky, Missouri, and Oklahoma. Within its territory, all nonwhites of childbearing age (including children) are relocated to either Mexico or the rump United States. Blacks over the age of sixty-five are allowed to remain, while strict laws, based on the Old Testament are instituted.
- 2008 West, R. M. *The Nation as Race and Myth: A Novel as Virtual History*. Seattle, WA: 4 Moons Press. A political polemic written in the form of a myth, West’s novel is more akin to Mighels’ 1915 *Fairy Tale of the White Man*.
- 2009 Schaerffenberg, A. V. *Werewolves of the Swastika: Their Liberation of America in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Rapid City, SD: PZG Inc. This book is based on a case study of Hitler’s ‘Werewolves’ (hence the title), the Nazi diehard partisans who fought Allied forces and Germans who collaborated with the Allies in 1945 and 1946. Like Covington and Kay,

- Schaerffenberg envisages small groups of guerrillas attacking the System and eventually, bleeding it so much that it causes it to collapse.
- 2010 Bristow, Kyle. *White Apocalypse*. Lexington, KY: No publisher given. The main action of the novel revolves around the Solutrean hypothesis, the idea that the North and possibly, South American continents were settled by proto-Europeans (whites) thousands of years before the American Indians crossed the Bering land bridge into North America. The hero of the novel, Samuel Buchanan, has his academic career destroyed because of his adherence to the Solutrean hypothesis, and becomes the target of a terrorist group, the MIP—Movement of Indigenous Peoples, modeled after the American Indian Movement. The novel revolves around the hero's attempts to prove that the invading Native Americans slaughtered the proto-Europeans when they overran the American continents.
- 2010 Kay, Gregory. *The Third Revolution: The Warlord*. Lexington, KY: No publisher given. The last novel in Kay's neo-Confederate tetralogy—*TTR: The Warlord* examines the rise of the main character and the Confederate-Mexican War, which is won by the Confederacy and sees Mexico reduced to a rump state along the border with Guatemala and the conquering of several Caribbean islands. The reason for the war was the Mexican attack on the Confederate Independence Day celebration in Columbia, South Carolina, which killed the hero's young daughter and his longtime political ally and best friend.
- 2010 Long, Benjamin. *Rebel Call*. Long's novel features the uniting of the two halves of white nationalist identity, one character is an Asatru heathen and the other character is an Identity Christian. Together, these two men form a partnership and eventual cell that plots the overthrow of the 'Beast'—the federal United States government. While not as practical as *The Turner Diaries* or Covington's *The Brigade*, Long's novel does contain an interesting prism on how a possible white nationalist uprising could occur if Identity Christians and Asatru white nationalist pagans would ever put aside their religious differences. Indeed, H. A. Covington touches upon the same topics in his *A Mighty Fortress* (2005) and *Freedom's Sons* (2013).
- 2010 Moore, Hewitt E. *White Guilt*.
- 2011 O'Reilly, Farnham. *Hyperborean Home*. No Place of Publisher: Xlibris Corporation.
- 2013 Covington, H. A. *Freedom's Sons*. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse. The fifth installment of H.A. Covington's Northwest saga follows the Northwest American Republic immediately after its independence from the United States to fifty years into the future—examining the hypothetical problems the new country faces, an attempted reconquering by the United States, chronicling the invasion and subsequent war, plus examining a fictitious Solutrean site at Lost Creek, Montana and a look at the border conflict and the 'reconciliation' of the white race through marriage. Indeed, Covington reversed the post-Civil War 'reunion' novels by having a white male revolutionary marry the granddaughter of one of the men who fought against the white revolutionaries.
- 2013 Roosevelt, Gunther. *Tales of New America*. Sacramento, CA: Callister Green Pub.

- 2014 Roper, Billy. *Hasten the Day: The First Year of the Balkanization of America*. San Bernardino, CA: No publisher given.
- 2014 Roper, Billy. *Waiting for the Sun: Hasten the Day, Part II, The Fifth Year After the Breakup of the United States*. Lexington, KY: No publisher given.
- 2015 Roper, Billy. *Wasting the Dawn: Hasten the Day, Part III*. No place of publication: No publisher given. Roper's trilogy tracks the fall of the United States and the rise of various states along the lines of the Former Yugoslavia—including a New America, a Mormon country called Deseret, and an independent Republic of Texas—from the territory of the United States with parts of the northeast going to an independent Quebec and Canada. Furthermore, Roper imagines a virus that has been engineered by Israeli scientists to “take care of their Arab problem” but which ends up killing not only Arabs but other Asiatics as it mutates. This virus, known as the Asian flu is mutated by South African scientists and used to exterminate blacks. This virus cleanses the world of all non-whites, leaving it a whites-only planet.

## Introduction: “I’m a good ol’ Rebel”

*Art is a means of expressing a historically conditioned yet enduring truth in a shared way. As such it meets most accurately the demand of psychohistory understanding: that it comprehend simultaneously what moves both the individual and the mass. The artist—especially the novelist, for the novel is the most explicitly historical of art forms—is only worthwhile to the extent that he can see beyond and beneath the immediate culture, and so seeing, can create a new organic order of vision to be shared with other men (Kovel 1971, 46.)*

*[...] the desire for racial surety has increased, at least among a segment of the population. The white supremacist movement evidences these fears, which manifest themselves, as among previous generations, “in the acute fear of the void, the never-satiated lust for certainty, paranoiac mythologies of conspiracy and the frantic search for ever-elusive identity” (Ferber 1999, 63).*

As the authors of the website *Poems and Songs of the American Civil War* point out, in his seminal book *Point Lookout Prison Camp for Confederates*,<sup>3</sup> Edwin Warfield Beitzell observes that “[a]ccording to Herbert Quick, who printed an account of ‘The Good Old Rebel’ in *Colliers* for April 14th, 1914, its author was Major James Randolph, a Virginian and a member of General J.E.B. Stuart's staff. Sung to the tune of ‘Joe Bowers,’ a favorite of the Forty-niners, it traveled beyond the bounds of the Confederacy. Edward VII, the Prince of Wales, heard it at a reception in London and called it ‘that fine American song with the cuss words in it.’”<sup>4</sup>

In fact, “that fine American song” is nothing short of a blatant declaration of hatred with respect to all the symbols of the North: “the Constitution,” the idea of the “Great Republic,” the “Freedman Buro” (sic!), the “nasty eagle,” the “Yankee nation” and the “Glorious union.” At the same time, being non-ambivalently defiant, the song elevates the ‘values of old’ and substantiates a refusal to accept the post-War order with a list of the “good ol’ rebel’s” heroic exploits juxtaposed with that of Northern cruelties. Indisputably, the “Good Ol’ Rebel” has long reverberated with a particular community that shared and is still sharing the cultural memory of the events that followed the surrender of the Confederate armies. Following the end of the

<sup>3</sup> Edwin Warfield Beitzell, *Point Lookout Prison Camp for Confederates* (Madison: University of Wisconsin 1972), p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Source: <http://www.civilwarhome.com/poemssongs.html> (access: 10.10.2016).

American Civil War, many Confederates faced the choice of whether or not to sign the so-called Loyalty Oath; giving their honorable word that they would never raise arms against the United States again and pledging that they had not committed any “treacherous acts” (war crimes). By signing, they would receive a full pardon. Although a number of Confederates chose to sign the Oath, many of those who surrendered their arms refused to sign the pledge: they felt their actions had been honorable and therefore would not merit a “pardon,” which, in itself, was to be granted by a government that they had fought for four long, bloody years. Among the most renowned figures who refused to sign the oath were such quintessential Confederates as Jesse James, the famous ‘Western’ outlaw, as well as his brother Frank, Cole and Tom Younger, and a host of others. This notion of having nothing to atone for is alluded to in the closing stanza of the song, where its lyrical I states bluntly:

[...] I don't want no pardon  
For what I was and am,  
I won't be reconstructed  
And I don't care a damn.<sup>5</sup>

Interestingly, while the song’s powerful rhetoric vents frustration and anger at the defeat of the Confederate armies and the downfall of the Old South: it also constructs a frame of reference in which the acts of war—construed as acts of treason by the victorious North—would be valorized as honorable acts of chivalric courage. The Rebel of the song is “good”: as a soldier ready to sacrifice his own life for the greater good, he also represents the “old” ways and “old” traditional values standing in bright contrast to the “modern” ones, imposed by the “The lyin,’ thievin’ Yankees.” Within such a conceptual system, rebellion, unavoidably, is the only course of action for a “good,” honorable person to take. In light of the song, the acceptance of the principles of Reconstruction would, in fact, be an act of disloyalty with respect to those who fell in defense of the ‘honest’ way of life, now brought to an end at Appomattox Courthouse. There is nothing to atone for, and hence, the Northern ‘pardon’ would be nothing short of an insult: the Rebel is unapologetic because “what he was, he is” and “that’s just what he is” because he feels that despite the arrival of ‘the new order’ his honor and his cause were never nullified. Yet, the dawn of the “new” exacerbates the Rebel’s “acute fear of the void” and intensifies his “desire for racial surety” (Ferber 1999, 63), thus activating a complex process in which anxiety and a sense of humiliation trigger the implementation of psychological defenses. It is within this context that

<sup>5</sup> See the lyrics of the song at: [www.civilwarhome.com/pooroldrebel.htm](http://www.civilwarhome.com/pooroldrebel.htm) (access: 10.10.2016). Also, listen to Hoyt Axton’s rendition of the song at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YAfHigPsC\\_s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YAfHigPsC_s) (access: 10.10.2016).

the “Good Ol’ Rebel”—simple, or even crude as it may be—becomes a ‘safety valve’ not only to its author (venting his frustration), but also to his “community of values,” among whose members “that fine American song with the cuss words in it” has enjoyed unabated popularity, in one form or another, since its inception. If, in light of the above, one agrees with Joel Kovel’s observation that “[a]rt is a means of expressing a historically conditioned yet enduring truth in a shared way” (Kovel 1971, 46), one will also gain an alternative, psychologically grounded historical insight into the mechanisms underlying the development of the literary historical process that gave rise not only to the “Good Ol’ Rebel” but also to a plethora of other works of fiction, including poetry and prose. Art, Kovel continues, “meets most accurately the demand of psychohistory understanding: that it comprehend simultaneously what moves both the individual and the mass” (Kovel 1971, 46). Furthermore, “[t]he artist,” in Kovel’s vision, “is only worthwhile to the extent that he can see beyond and beneath the immediate culture, and so seeing, can create a new organic order of vision to be shared with other men” (Kovel 1971, 46).

This “new organic order of vision to be shared with other men” is at the heart of this study: the central assumption underlying the arguments presented in the chapters to follow is concurrent with Kovel’s claim that among all the cultural products of a particular society “the novel is the most explicitly historical of art forms” (46). As such, the novel may be treated as a historical source, whose meticulous description may offer a starting point for revisions of the existing accounts of the past, but, simultaneously, it may be viewed as a window into the psyche of a group. Perhaps even more importantly, from the perspective of the literary historical studies adopted in this work, the recurrence of certain themes and motifs—allowing the repressed emotions ‘organically’ shared by the group to surface—may offer a key to an understanding of the mechanisms responsible for the coming into existence and continued popularity of certain types of fiction irrespective of other, sociopolitical mechanisms responsible for the transformations of the mainstream, canonical literature.

It is against such a theoretical backdrop that this work analyzes the psychologically motivated historical mechanisms underlying the birth and evolution of American white nationalism, as expressed in fiction created by (and for) a segment of the white population of the United States that has been political left behind by the fast changing world of multiculturalism, diversity and the global marketplace. Like all American forms of white nationalism from the Know Nothings to the American Protective Association through to the Jazz Era Ku Klux Klan

and the present-day Tea Party and various ‘alt-right’ organizations, the group under discussion in this work is wary of outside influences, “in the acute fear of the void, the never-satiated lust for certainty, paranoiac mythologies of conspiracy and the frantic search for ever-elusive identity” (Bauman qtd. in Ferber 1999, 63), and dissatisfied with the ways in which the world has changed in the past 150 or so years. However, as the size of the existing bibliography of academic texts suggests, this group—American white nationalists—has been either ignored (for aesthetic reasons) or avoided (for other reasons) by scholars in recent years. The heyday of research into American white nationalism came immediately after the Oklahoma City Bombing in April, 1995, with interest abating soon thereafter. In more recent years, research into white nationalism seems to have been abrogated by scholars to various ‘watchdog’ groups that may or may not present an unbiased picture of the movement, as it is quite impossible to have anti-racists without having racists, as miniscule as most groups of organized American racists are.<sup>6</sup> However, it seems reasonable to claim that in order to understand contemporary America in the entirety of its complexity; its uncomfortable aspects must be researched. The de-tabooization of white nationalism seems necessary if one wishes to see a fuller picture of not only contemporary American society but also of American history. Relegating academic studies on the culture of white nationalism to the sphere of taboo does disservice to the overall state of knowledge on mechanisms propelling the developments in American social and cultural history, and it is only fair to state that researching a position is by no means tantamount to advocating it. This work, therefore, aspires to fill in a small gap in the map of knowledge of literary phenomena evidently deemed ‘undeserving’ of a serious academic study—phenomena reflecting the hidden dynamics of a simmering conflict between the “culture of defeat” and the dominant culture of the victors. In doing so, it relies upon unbiased methodological foundations of contemporary group psychology and history, proposing a fresh theoretical formula of literary history with a psychological foundation. This formula draws its inspiration from the assumptions of modern psychohistory (explaining events as functions of repressed affects), yet transforms its orientation to focus on a group trauma, which—grafted in the group’s collective unconscious—manifests itself both in the birth of particular types of fiction and in its popularity.

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<sup>6</sup> It is interesting that most organized groups of white nationalists appear mostly to be Internet-based. Even the ‘watchdog’ groups of the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Anti-Defamation League admit that most non-Internet groups average about 20 people or so. See <https://www.splcenter.org/hate-map> (access: 12.10.2016). For an ‘insider’ approach, see the following thread on the white nationalist forum *Stormfront*, <https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t156188/> (access 08.09.2016).



While the particular form of fiction in this study has precursors, the modern form of the white nationalist novel began with the publication of William L. Pierce's *The Turner Diaries* in book form in 1978. This novel, which was written as a serial and published in the *White Power* newsletter between 1972 and 1976, presents, through the letters of its protagonist, the course of a white nationalist revolution against the forces intent on the white race's destruction. In essence, the novel was a reaction to the perceived chaos of the late 1960s. The seismic changes that occurred in American culture and society from 1963 to 1970 shocked not only conservatives but confounded and terrified white nationalists.

It is fascinating to observe how much American society has changed in the past fifty years and in particular, in the last two decades. This transformation is especially visible when one considers the massive demographic changes that have occurred, with the white population statistically dropping and the minority population increasing in all regions of the United States: according to recent demographics, the United States will become "majority minority" by 2040.<sup>7</sup> This development already has tangible consequences on what is viewed as American culture. The fears resulting from the growing awareness that whites are becoming a minority in a nation that some white nationalist groups view as theirs and theirs alone, surfacing as they do in various artistic manifestations, are the main propellants of the authors of the novels presented in this work.

As with many subcultures, American white nationalism started with a rebellion against the status quo. Historically, the rebellion of the Confederacy and its subsequent defeat, followed by the nostalgia for an idealized past (underlying the popularity of the symbols of the defeated South), provide the foundation of contemporary American white nationalism. Interestingly, the symbols of that racist past, the Rebel flag, statues of Confederate leaders and other reminders of the Confederacy, as accepted components that defined Southern society, had long remained non-divisive. However, in the past two years, particularly with the July 17<sup>th</sup>, 2015 Charleston church murders, where a white man, Dylann Storm Roof killed nine African Americans while they were attending a prayer meeting, the symbols of the South's Confederate past have come into question. In particular, the symbol of the defeated South, the Confederate battle flag (also known

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<sup>7</sup> See

[http://www.slate.com/articles/life/tomorrows\\_test/2016/06/american\\_is\\_becoming\\_a\\_majority\\_minority\\_nation\\_it\\_s\\_already\\_happened\\_in.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/life/tomorrows_test/2016/06/american_is_becoming_a_majority_minority_nation_it_s_already_happened_in.html) (access: 15/01/2017) and <http://www.npr.org/sections/ed/2016/07/01/484325664/babies-of-color-are-now-the-majority-census-says> (access: 09/09/2016)

as the Rebel flag, Southern Cross, St. Andrew's cross or the Confederate naval ensign) has come under fire for its connection to a disreputable cause and the racial violence against black Americans over the past 150 years. Moreover, the victory of Donald Trump in the 2016 presidential election, which was accomplished with strong support from the alt-right, including many white nationalists, as well as traditional conservatives, social conservatives and economic conservatives, puts the white nationalist movement back in the spotlight. Finally, the extreme emotions exhibited by the unleashing of the passions of the 2016 electoral cycle—the anger, fear, hatred of the Other, humiliation, and shaming language directed at the supporters of both presidential candidates seem to show a United States more fractured than at any time since the American Civil War.

Indeed, it is the American Civil War and the failure of Reconstruction, with the resurgence of white supremacy in the South that has haunted not only Southern culture (which is a distinct culture, hence the capital 'S'), but American culture ever since. However, this work is not about the American Civil War *per se* but about the literary manifestations of the culture of defeat that developed in the South after the war and which grew and blossomed into the present American white nationalist movement of today.<sup>8</sup> To some, this may seem like a semantic game, but to generations of white Southerners who grew up after 1865 or who had experienced the horror of the war and its aftermath, Reconstruction, it was vitally important that their fathers,' brothers,' husbands,' and sons' sacrifices not be vilified by the 'conquerors.' By and large, especially after 1878, when the last Federal troops were removed from the South at the end of Reconstruction, white Southerners found it crucial that the North ('the conquerors') follow the provisions of the compromise of 1878, in terms of allowing the South to establish Jim Crow laws, participate in battlefield reunions and parades, and in the returning of captured Confederate regimental flags. After all, there was a continent to settle and other wars to be fought. Additionally, as time passed, the wounds of the war were salved over and the South began to grow into The New South of textile mills. This led to the development of the Sun Belt of the later decades of the 1900s, and so, gradually, the war seemed to take on an ethereal quality, its specter

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<sup>8</sup> Merriam Webster's Online Dictionary defines a 'civil war' as "a war between groups of people in the same country." Among traditional white Southerners, until relatively recently, it was known by various terms, including 'The War of Northern Aggression,' 'The War for Southern Independence,' or more popularly, 'The War between the States'.

not apparent on the surface, but always hovering over the prosperity of a renewed and revitalized region.

With the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in South Carolina came a controversy over the Confederate Battle flag, which had flown from the State House since 1962. In 2000, the NAACP called for a boycott of South Carolina because of this “embattled banner,” as historian John Coski called it. In 2001, director Ryan Deussing, produced a documentary—*Confederacy Theory*, which tracked this controversy, interviewing all sides of the issue—including two former South Carolina governors, state representatives, community leaders and League of the South representatives and other Southern nationalists. One of the interviewed Southerners, William Hamilton, gets to the heart of the issue with Confederate memory in a long conversation with the author of the documentary. His thoughts are important in understanding the way that many of the so-called neo-Confederates perceive their ancestors’ actions:

It is very, very easy to announce that they were wrong and this is what they were wrong about and we know better but 150 years from now, men and women will sit down and judge the type of world we made [...] A hundred years later it seems obvious that slavery was wrong. It would not have seemed obvious to an eighteen year old boy on a plantation in 1850. We think it’s okay to pump 15 gallons of gasoline into a car and drive it up the highway, even though we know that cars are bad for our society, that they produce social fragmentation and an unsustainable transportation and logistical structure for our society [...] We’ve built our entire landscape to accommodate it [sic]. A hundred years from now, people may regard that as completely insane but every eighteen year old kid in the United States wants his own car now and probably every eighteen year old on a plantation in 1850 expected he’d own his own slaves.<sup>9</sup>

It is this view of history and the actions of one’s ancestors that separates many neo-Confederates from the rest of society. Three quotes from white Southerners will also help to illustrate the mindset of those who, like the authors of the novels under examination in this project, feel that the current multicultural and diverse American society is not for them and that a change, not only of the society but of the political structure of the U.S., is long overdue. First, one of the authors of *The South Was Right! A Southern View of the American Civil War*, Walter Kennedy states that “[t]his is where Northerners have trouble with Southerners who just won’t forget. They cannot comprehend the feeling of a people who have been absolutely crushed to the ground in defeat. A conquered people never forget.”<sup>10</sup> And, regarding the controversy over the Confederate battle flag, Rev. Bob Slimp of the Council of Conservative Citizens, commented: “Afro-Americans have the right to have pride in themselves, so do Southern whites and so do Southern white

<sup>9</sup> *Confederacy Theory*, directed by Ryan Deussing. Rebel rebel LLC, 2001. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rxNZrFyl2DA> (access: 10.22.2015).

<sup>10</sup> *Confederacy Theory*, directed by Ryan Deussing. Rebel rebel LLC, 2001. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rxNZrFyl2DA> (access: 10.22.2015).

males. And, if that right is going to be taken from us, let the Union be dissolved!”<sup>11</sup> Finally, Kirk Lyons of the Southern Legal Resource Center paints an apocalyptic picture of the struggle that he believes many Southern whites are involved in: “Our opponents are committed to the extinction of every symbol of the Southern people.”<sup>12</sup> These quotes exemplify not only the neo-Confederate, but, white nationalist feeling as to the history of whites in America, namely, the feeling that the actions of their ancestors have been vilified, their values have been demonized to make way for a progressive society that they want no part of, their symbols have come under attack, and that it is their views that are ignored by the body politic at large. In essence, their rhetoric demonstrates that they feel betrayed by politicians, the cultural elite and, more importantly, they feel isolated from the popular culture—a culture that seems to have denigrated and trampled upon everything they value.

However, numerous sources indicate that white nationalists would advocate the position that instead of being “committed to the extinction of every symbol,” their opponents on the progressive, anti-racist political left want the enslavement, extinction or utter extermination of their race. The famous quote from Susan Sonntag—“[t]he white race is the cancer of humanity”—has been echoed by anti-racist activist Noel Ignatieff in the 2012 documentary *Indoctrination U*, who states bluntly: “My concern is doing away with whiteness. [...] Whiteness is a form of racial oppression, sure.” It is interesting to note that both of these quotes come from people who are anathema to American white nationalists: both Ignatieff and Sonntag are Jewish. However, the following quote begs the question of what Ignatieff proposes to do to destroy whiteness: “There can be no white race without the phenomenon of white supremacy. In the same way, if you abolish racial oppression, you do away with whiteness”.<sup>13</sup> Whether Ignatieff advocates the elimination of white ethnocentrism from the mindset of the dominant group or whether his position calls for the deconstruction of the twofold opposition between white and nonwhite in terms of privilege, to a white nationalist, the scholar’s comments mean no less than an exhortation to destroy the white race. By white nationalist logic, if ‘whiteness’ is inexorably intertwined with the white race, then it seems that Ignatieff is calling for the annihilation of the

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<sup>11</sup> *Confederacy Theory*, directed by Ryan Deussing. Rebel rebel LLC, 2001. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rxNZrFyl2DA> (access 10.22.2015).

<sup>12</sup> *Confederacy Theory*, directed by Ryan Deussing. Rebel rebel LLC, 2001. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rxNZrFyl2DA> (access 10.22.2015).

<sup>13</sup> See footnote #108 for the full quote by Susan Sonntag. Regarding Noel Ignatieff’s comments, see *Indoctrination U*, directed by Evan C. Maloney, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kaNYcZmu3to> (access 01.30.2016).

white race—whatever is meant by ‘race’ in that context is not given. To a white nationalist, such an interpretation of the scholar’s words would be further substantiated by the fact that, despite historical evidence corroborating atrocities committed by supremacists of other ethnicities, Ignatieff does not seem to condemn them, attributing all evils solely to whites. Moreover, it is the dichotomy of there being no such thing as ‘race’ or the idea that ‘race is a social construct’ and calling for the destruction of the idea of ‘whiteness’ that confuses and frightens American white nationalists into believing that political leftist academics and their allies want to not only destroy ‘whiteness,’ whatever that term implies, but to destroy the ‘white race’ physically as well. These quotes can be pointed to as the most virulent form of anti-white rhetoric that reinforces the white nationalist point of view: it is *their race* that is being singled out for all the ills that plague and that have plagued mankind since the Fall.<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, it is the Southern, traditionally-minded white that experienced the trauma of defeat, oftentimes conveniently forgetting that the defeat came about as a result of a war in which one of the issues was the fulfillment of not only the letter, but the spirit of the Declaration of Independence. It is this segment of the white population that is still experiencing that defeat as they watch *their values* being ‘denigrated’ and ‘torn asunder,’ a trauma perpetuated in collective memory that drives the white nationalist to write his novels, and his audiences to read them and, in some cases, act upon the themes presented in them.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the advent of the various civil rights’ movements—first, with African Americans, then women’s liberation in the early 1970s, to the present LGBTQ movement—caused the conservative, white society to perceive itself as being under attack from all sides. These civil rights movements, from a white nationalist

<sup>14</sup> This event is more commonly known as Adam and Eve being cast out of the Garden of Eden by God. In the South, among conservative, ‘traditional’ Biblically-oriented Southerners, it is called ‘The Fall of Man,’ as described in Genesis, Book 3: 22-24. Indeed, in the King James Version of the *Holy Bible*, the event is entitled, “The Fall of Man.”

<sup>15</sup> Throughout this work, ‘his’ will be used while describing the authors of white nationalist novels, as there is only one novel in current American white nationalism that is written by a woman, Jill von Konen’s *Camp 38: Current Model of Northern European Lifestyle Before Christianity* (Seattle, WA: Sovereign Press, 1984). Von Konen’s novel is more about the return of paganism than it is about race but many researchers, who appear to have never read the novel, include it in their lists of white nationalist fiction. Again, it must be stressed that for a novel to be ‘white nationalist,’ it must deal in some way with race. Regardless of the assertions of Kevin Hicks in Chapter 8 of *Neo-Confederacy: A Critical Introduction*, Ellen Williams’ *Bedford: A World Vision* (Belleville, Ontario: Guardian Books, 2000) is neither neo-Confederate nor white nationalist, but a conservative Christian novel, more akin to the *Political left Behind* series by Tim LaHaye or *The Illuminati* and *The Thor Conspiracy* novels by Larry Burkett. While Williams’ novel is set in Alabama, it does not include any racial elements, other than having the school system enforce ‘white guilt’ upon white students and allowing black students to vent their rage at ‘Euro’ students for slavery and other ‘crimes.’ In essence, *Bedford* is an anti-political correctness novel, and, unless one stretches the meaning of ‘white nationalism’ to its breaking point can, in no way, be construed as advocating white nationalism or the neo-Confederacy movement, it neither endorses the old South nor does it denigrate non-whites.

perspective, were not and are not about achieving equal rights but about destroying white culture and eventually, the white race itself. Even political correctness is viewed with intense hatred from the racist right, as pointed out by a major character, Zack Hatfield, in H. A. Covington's 2008 novel *The Brigade*:

When a totalitarian society controls the language, controls the words that people use in speech, and punishes them for using any word or terminology other than the prescribed ones, eventually the whole population will be so afraid they'll start using the politically correct terms in their very thoughts, to make sure they don't blurt out some word that will make them lose their jobs or get them arrested for hatespeech. The state ends up controlling not just their behavior and their speech, but shaping and controlling their very thoughts. Any questioning of the politically correct orthodoxy becomes literally unthinkable, because we don't know how. We don't have the words for it. The United States has been aiming for that for years (Covington 2008, 28).

Hatfield's fictional criticism of the current social culture of the United States is not unusual among white nationalists of all stripes. Indeed, something definitely "went wrong" with Western civilization in the second decade of the 1900s, to which the outbreak of World War One best testifies.<sup>16</sup> However, the battle between conservative (essentially economically oriented) and liberal/progressive (equality oriented) groups ignores white nationalists (who believe in racial purity). Finally, American white nationalists view their perceived enemies as people without consciences or even without souls. Following this idea, the defeats suffered at the hands of those who are considered to be "ungodly" or "the spawn of Satan" seems to have baffled most traditional, conservative whites, while white nationalists view these defeats as "stabs in the back" from the political elite power structure in Washington, D.C. This is extremely important to understand, because in the white nationalist perspective the fight over the Confederate battle flag is not just a battle over a piece of cloth but a battle for historical memory and, overall, about who sets the cultural standards of what is to be cherished, taught to children and what is to be thrown into the dustbin of history.

Nostalgia for the Confederacy and its symbols were, at one time, popular and ubiquitous icons of and in the Southern United States. In particular, the Confederate battle flag has been featured on everything from paintings to album covers, bikinis and t-shirts to bedspreads, glasses and posters. Moreover, with the apparent victory of progressive political ideas such as desegregation, abortion rights, gay marriage, and with a resulting backlash the intensity of which

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<sup>16</sup> Hatfield's thoughts seem to echo the writings of Oswald Spengler from his 1921 opus *The Decline of the West*: "Formerly no one was allowed to think freely; now it is permitted, but no one is capable of it any more. Now people want to think only what they are supposed to think, and this they consider freedom" (qtd. in Bristow 2010, iii). While Spengler was writing almost 100 years before Covington put the words in Hatfield's mouth, the sense that "something just isn't right" with the West, its culture, society and attitudes have been present for a century or more.

has not been seen since the last ripples of the Civil Rights era subsided in the mid-1970s—a backlash, the results of which started to emerge with the presidential candidacy and victory of Donald Trump—have prompted many commentators to publicly proclaim the alt-right and white nationalism as the dying gasps of white America. This has triggered a defensive response manifested by a renewed glorification of the traditional Southern values within white nationalist circles.<sup>17</sup> While the Confederate battle flag is the most ubiquitous symbol of those who are ‘unreconstructed,’ this subculture revels in terms such as ‘rebel,’ ‘redneck’ and ‘hillbilly,’ which abound in the underground Southern ‘redneck’ and racist skinhead rock scene, both of which glorify the Confederate past.<sup>18</sup> However, the most permanent and arguably, more influential aspect of the scene is the white nationalist novel, which “can create a new organic order of vision to be shared with other men” and which “comprehend[s] simultaneously what moves both the individual and the mass” (Kovel 1971, 46). As an outpouring of grief over a past that could have been, and over the present informed by a vision of a future that can still be, it is both a source documenting the history of group affect and a product of the communal trauma shaping self-definition and self-esteem, and living in a shared memory since the fall of the Confederacy. In the South, as historian David Goldfield observed,

History is not learned; it is remembered, it is handed down like a family heirloom through generations. Much of this remembered past is no longer in history books but it is valued all the more as a precious lifeline, ever more fragile, connecting Southerners to the South and to each other. The memories invariably begin with the Civil War. And how white Southerners remembered the Civil War and its aftermath defined and distinguished the South for the next century (Goldfield 2002, 16).

In light of the above quote, two diametrically opposing visions have been advocated about the American Civil War and Reconstruction. The first position is adopted by those sharing the unreconstructed view that Confederates were not fighting for the perpetuation of slavery but were struggling to defend their homes against invaders who wanted to change their way of life, slavery being a part of that life. This view is aptly phrased by Charles Scott Hamel in *So Good A Cause: A Decade of Southern Partisan*:

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<sup>17</sup> Interestingly, it was the collapse of the Civil Rights-era KKK that led to the development of the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century white nationalist movement and its novels.

<sup>18</sup> The Raleigh, North Carolina-based Rockabilly group ‘Rebel Son,’ as well as the Welsh-based ‘Redneck 28’ are only two of the various bands that populate the neo-Confederate country-rock genre. Furthermore, many country and Southern rock acts have used the Confederate battle flag in their shows or have sung about the Confederate soldier, among them ‘Lynyrd Skynyrd,’ ‘Confederate Railroad,’ ‘Molly Hatchet,’ ‘The Outlaws,’ and the ‘Charlie Daniels Band.’ Unlike ‘Redneck 28,’ ‘Rebel Son’ is not overtly racist in their lyrics but many of their songs celebrate the Confederate soldier and the unreconstructed view of the South.

*Southern Partisan* is somewhat different from other Conservative magazines in that its ethos stems from a region of the country which has tasted the bitter fruits of military defeat and has been subjected to repeated and continuous attempts to force it to change its way of life. The very existence of *Southern Partisan* is testimony to the fact that these attempts have not wholly succeeded, much to the chagrin of the ideologues and robber barons who nevertheless continue to make war on this region in the name of the modern shibboleths of “equality” and “progress” (Smith 1993, i).

The second view is the ‘modern’ interpretation of the Confederacy as a racist country better off forgotten about at worst, or at best, its defeat and the civil rights struggles that followed are shining examples of how far the United States has come in race relations.<sup>19</sup>

In such a context, it needs to be reiterated that the position adopted in this work departs from both of the above, ideologically colored, attitudes. The arguments presented here rely upon methodology rather than ideology, with a complete awareness that no academic position is apolitical, or immune to the pitfalls of interpretation or snares of personal bias. While this study covers much ground that will be familiar to readers, it also blazes a new path in research on white nationalist novels: arguably, such literature, interpreted in light of psychological, historiographic, and/or literary theories, may be seen as a very active alternative voice to the mainstream racial discourse in contemporary America. At odds with the preferred social norms and employing language challenging the precepts of political correctness and thus, mostly banned from the public sphere, they do appeal to segments of the white population, whose sentiments resurged with the onset of Trump-style political rhetoric. One author has attracted the attention of someone in authority because, as the writer himself emphasizes, as of August 14<sup>th</sup>, 2015, Harold A. Covington’s writings have been banned for sale in the United States. His novels were banned in Canada in 2008. While his books have been officially purged from the public space, they live their own life, circulated through unofficial avenues, in particular the Internet.<sup>20</sup> As such, the phenomenon perpetuates its own particular momentum: Covington’s popularity paradoxically increased with the ban, which should draw scholars’ attention to his work. Being one of the more vocal critics of the United States government, Covington populates his *Northwest Novels* with characters of white racially-aware revolutionaries who wrest control of

<sup>19</sup> For examples of this idea, please consult James McPherson’s *Battle Cry of Freedom: America in the Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). Updated and in numerous editions. For the Reconstruction period, see Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: The Unfinished Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). Updated and in numerous editions.

<sup>20</sup> According to the author, “My novels have been banned for sale in the United States, though it appears that the idiot bureaucracy has yet to catch on. Frankly, I don’t know what the hell is going on. Why now? And, why all my novels, not just the revolutionary ones?” Personal email from Harold A Covington to the author, dated August 18, 2016. Despite the author’s claim, the novels are available on Amazon, both in the United States and in Canada, as of September 15<sup>th</sup>, 2017.



four states of the Pacific Northwest away from U.S. government control in a colonial-style war.<sup>21</sup> While white nationalist novels *in general* expose the fears, hopes, trepidations and visions of this relatively unknown subculture, Covington and other contemporary white nationalist novelists *specifically* present a very heady brew of a vision of things that are supposedly missing in contemporary white society—dignity, honor, respect and racial pride. This is important because in fact, the definition of white nationalism might be condensed into *14 Words*: “We must secure the existence of our race (sometimes ‘people’) and a future for white children”.<sup>22</sup> As follows, any action that advances this goal is viewed as beneficial, while any ideology, person, cultural trend, or political/social policy that is perceived as detrimental to that goal is vilified in white nationalist writing—whether on blogs, threads on various bulletin boards or in fiction.

While the white nationalist fiction of today has had several precursors in American literature and draws its inspiration from various themes that have been explored by authors throughout the history of the United States, what has been pointed out thus far allows one to observe that several leitmotifs may be considered as distinctive for white nationalist novels, regardless of their time-specific political or philosophical underpinnings. Among these, redemption, *anagorsis*, revenge, and obviously, race, loom particularly large, with the idea of redemption playing the key role in the perpetuation of not only the race, but also of one’s being in harmony with his/her racial soul. At this point, a brief introduction to the cultural roots of these four elements may prove enlightening.

It is general knowledge that the mystical aspects of contemporary American white nationalism are largely based on a few sources, but the idea of the racial soul was specifically codified in Nazi Germany. The Nazis, in turn, received many of their mystical insights from Madame Helena Blavatsky and an amalgam of ancient Germanic lore and Ariosophy.<sup>23</sup> In Jungian psychology, redemption in fairy tales serves as a topos in which the main characters are bewitched or otherwise cursed into doing things that they may not do otherwise. According to Marie Louise von Franz:

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<sup>21</sup> Harold A. Covington is the author of seventeen novels. The *Northwest Novels* cycle are *The Hill of the Ravens* (2003), *A Distant Thunder* (2004), *A Mighty Fortress* (2005), *The Brigade* (2008) and *Freedom’s Sons* (2013).

<sup>22</sup> These are the famous *14 Words* of the Order member, David Lane. These words serve as a mantra for white nationalists worldwide.

<sup>23</sup> For more on Ariosophy, see Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *The Occult Roots of Nazism: Secret Aryan Cults and Their Influence on Nazi Ideology* (New York: New York University Press, 1985) and his *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism and the Politics of Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 2002).

The word redemption should not be associated with the Christian dogma and theology, where it is a concept with so many connotations. In fairytales, redemption refers specifically to a condition where someone has been cursed or bewitched and through certain happenings or events in the story is redeemed. This is a very different condition from that in the Christian idea (Franz 1980, 7).

Taking into account Franz's ideas, white nationalist fiction combines Jungian psychology regarding redemption and the Christian concept of redemption. In the novels, some of the main characters convert to white nationalism, getting in touch with their racial soul through a series of events and either through a divine spark of 'cosmic revelation'/*anagorsis* or through examining their souls, eventually finding that white nationalism is the best way to serve humanity. While redemption is a major feature in all cycles of white nationalist fiction, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four, it features most prominently in the so-called Klan Apologia prose and some of the post-Civil Rights era novels. The best examples of the Klan Apologia era are Thomas J. Jerome's *Ku Klux Klan, No. 40: A Novel*, published in 1898, and 1905's *The Clansman* by Thomas Dixon Jr. In essence, the idea of redemption in the Klan Apologia/Redeemer novels falls into the reunification of Northern whites and Southern whites under the banner of white supremacy. Simultaneously, the works of a different, complementary subgenre, the so-called Reunion novels that Nina Silber examines in her book *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* fit perfectly into the white nationalist genre, with one important difference: in the texts she studies, race is an ancillary, rather than central, theme. Race, however, is one of the driving forces in the White Slavery novels of the 1880s–1920s. As pointed out by Brian Donovan in his monograph *White Slave Crusades: Race, Gender and Anti-Vice Activism, 1887–1917*:

The white slavery genre in the United States developed during a period marked by rapid urbanization, the rise of women in the workforce, and the changing racial composition of American cities. The social shifts converged in white slavery narratives. The poetics of white slavery storytelling created a powerful voice for expressing concern over the pace and direction of social transformation (Donovan 2006, 1–2).

Protecting white women is an overriding theme in early American literature as can be seen by the 'captivity narratives' of the Puritan and early colonial period—narratives which proved most effective at pointing out the dangers that lurked in America when whites let down their guard. While Tom Engelhardt's book *The End of Victory Culture: Cold War America and the Disillusioning of a Generation* is a *tour de force* that tracks the end of the "war story" from its height of popularity in the 1950s to its vilification in the 1980s, it does reinforce the above point:

The earliest popular texts to attempt to make narrative sense of and establish certain boundaries around [the] not-yet American experience were Puritan sermons of armed retribution and accounts of captivity,

especially the captivity experiences of white women. More than five hundred had been published by the nineteenth century, and some proved to be the earliest American best sellers. [...] As a form, captivity narratives did far more than emphasize native savagery and depredations. They were the origin myths of the war story, for by putting Indians in the position of invaders, violently intruding on a settled world, they made the need for certain types of explanations unnecessary (Engelhardt 1995, 22–23).

While race dynamics may safely be claimed to inform much of American literature overall since its colonial inception, the white nationalist variety of prose—the Yellow Peril literature, the Black Scare/Redeemer/Klan Apologia and the first Red Scare novels (all published during the same period) advocate much the same position on race as do the authors of many pre-Civil War texts. They differ from other subgenres of contemporary white nationalist literature in that, rhetorically, they are more adamant about the direction of social transformation. At present, there are still white nationalist novels being published that are screaming at the top of their literary lungs for the “evildoers to *STOP* their transformation of American society into a multicultural cesspool where the white race and its values are denigrated at every turn” (Covington 2008, 46).

Even this brief overview allows for the conclusion that while in some novels race may be a discreet motif, it is of overriding importance in American white nationalist fiction. It is the reason the books were, have been, and are being written. In fact, the majority of modern white nationalist fiction revolves around the motifs of the protection of the white race, the peril of its extinction and the revolution that must occur to ensure its survival.<sup>24</sup> However, to label all of these novels in bulk as white supremacist and dismiss them merely as the ‘rantings of fanatics’ would be disingenuous at best and tragic at worst.<sup>25</sup> Demonstrably, the racial message can be somewhat subtle, depending on the author and the plot. Covington’s or Dixon’s novels, for instance, are considered racist because the racial message is overt and the characters make no excuse for their racial attitudes. Conversely, in such texts as Gregory Kay’s neo-Confederate

<sup>24</sup> While many American white nationalists sound like Marxists with their rhetoric of ‘revolution’, and indeed, it is easy for Marxists to become nationalists, as many nationalists in the Former Yugoslavia were former Marxists; within white nationalist terms ‘the proletariat’ is the average white man or woman, while the ‘exploitative class’ is the federal government and the left wing of the Democratic party, and the cultural and political elite of American society. Furthermore, while Marxist ideology regarding the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie revolved around the idea of cycles of revolution, American white nationalists have added a peculiarly American tenor to their novels, namely redemption.

<sup>25</sup> The tragedy being the simplistic explanation of the motives underlying the murders committed by the Order and the Oklahoma City Bombing, along with the murders committed by Dylann Roof, and the revolt of the Great Plains Militia Movement after the Farm Crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. The Order and the Oklahoma City bombers, Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols were influenced by *The Turner Diaries*, with Dylann Roof being influenced by another white nationalist novel, *Hunter*, as well as the Posse Comitatus and various Great Plains Militia being influenced by *The Turner Diaries* and selling it on their websites.

saga or Billy Roper's dystopian *Hasten the Day* trilogy, race seems understated, hovering in the background of the central plot. Despite the diverse intensity of its presence in the thematic layer of white nationalist prose, race, in essence, is literally a subject of black and white, although, admittedly, some white nationalist authors populate their books with characters of white "race traitors" who fight the white racist revolutionaries. In the Klan Apologia/Redeemer novels, these white traitors would be labeled as scalawags, native Southerners who cooperated with the Northern occupation authorities (the Freedman's Bureau) and/or were Republicans—or as carpetbaggers, i.e.: Northerners who moved South after the Civil War to make money. In the novels, a special category is reserved for any member of the white race who engages in sexual relations with someone outside the white race: such traitors, disrespectful of unwritten norms against miscegenation, must pay the ultimate price for their lack of racial morality. Race traitors forfeit their right to life: in the novels, they are eliminated in various ways—from being hanged (the infamous "Day of the Rope" in *The Turner Diaries* and *Freedom's Sons*), or shot (*The Clansman*), to being expelled and/or cleansed (*Freedom's Sons* and *Sown in the Darkness, A.D. 2000*). As far as the treatment of Jews, African Americans, and other races is concerned, although it differs from novel to novel, the fates of the racial Other universally reflect the ideology of the separation of the races underlying the entire genre. For instance, in Richard Twiford's 1941 novel, *Sown in the Darkness, A.D. 2000*, blacks voluntarily leave the United States for Mexico, while other undesirables are forcibly removed. Billy Roper's 2014–2015 *Hasten the Day* trilogy, however, presents an alternative solution to rid the world of other races. In his novels, the United States teeters and finally collapses into economic and social chaos, as Israel develops a virus to take care of its "Arab problem." Unfortunately for the Israelis, the virus mutates "in the slums of Karachi" and starts to kill anyone of Asian ancestry, including Jews. Likewise, to enact revenge upon black Africans for destroying White Afrikaner culture (and murdering most white Afrikaners in the process), a team of white Afrikaner scientists mutate the Asian virus and infect a group of blacks, thus eradicating the black race and leaving the world free for whites to remake in their own image, proving once and for all, that whites are the strongest race.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Billy Roper, *Waiting for the Sun: Hasten the Day, Part II* (No place of publisher: No publisher, 2015), no page given, Chapter 9. The virus killed everyone with a certain "Asiatic" haplogroup—though targeted at Arabs. In the novel, the virus was adapted by white Afrikaner scientists to attack black Africans, which eventually annihilated all blacks on the planet. To sum up, all blacks, Asians (including American Indians and Hispanics, Pakistanis, Indians, Semites—Jews and Arabs) are wiped out by the virus leaving planet earth a purely white planet.

In American white nationalist fiction, the awakening of one's racial soul is often accompanied by "the flash of cosmic consciousness", highly reminiscent of the Aristotelian theory of *anagorsis*. As examples, three characters will serve. The first example is Felix Hyde from the 1941 novel by William R. Twiford *Sown in the Darkness, A.D. 2000*. Hyde was once the leader of the American Cosmocrats (read Communists); however, after being captured by the Nationalists and put into a cell of his own design, he converts to white nationalism and sacrifices himself when, having infiltrated the Cosmocrat-sponsored Asian invasion army's headquarters, he blows himself up along with the enemy. By doing so, he saves the Nationalist cause.<sup>27</sup> The second example is from 2001's *Hold Back This Day* by Ward Kendall. In the novel, the main character, Jeff Huxton, discovers the "One World" conspiracy to "destroy racism by destroying race" by forcing miscegenation (Kendall 2001, 148). While Huxton is investigating the One World conspiracy, his son becomes involved with the white revolutionaries who are planning on leaving Earth in the last spaceship for their base on Mars. At the end of the novel, Huxton finally realizes the hypocrisy of the One World leaders and allows the last 10,000 'pure' whites to escape from Mars and further into space, ahead of One World forces, at the cost of his own life. Finally, the best example of *anagorsis* is Georgia Myers from H. A. Covington's *Freedom's Sons*, published in 2013. In the novel, the independent ethnically white country of the NAR—the Northwest American Republic, which consists of the present states of Idaho, Oregon, Washington, Wyoming and the western third of Montana, is under threat of nuclear attack from the American president, Hunter Wallace. Instead of allowing him to destroy the NAR, "[i]n one instantaneous flash of cosmic consciousness, Georgia understood. This man [President Wallace] was hopelessly insane, beyond all reason, and he was in the process of destroying her childhood and her blood right before her eyes. She knew what had to be done, she understood the price, and she accepted it. There seemed to be no conscious thought involved" (Covington 2013, 493). Following her moral imperative, she stabs President Wallace in the eye with a pencil, causing his death. Consequently, as a murderess, she is shot by a Secret Service agent—thus joining the group of the literary 'martyrs' of the white nationalist cause. These examples demonstrate the pervasive presence of one of the central motifs of white nationalist fiction: the motif of the self-sacrifice, the underpinning of which is the idea that one's life, comfort, or conveniences are

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<sup>27</sup> Felix Hyde is one of the main characters of the novel; however, this part of his story is found in chapters XXII-XXIV of the novel, pp. 219-247.

expendable if the betterment of the race is at stake. The individual is nothing while the race is everything, or, in the words of one of the characters in a later chapter of *Freedom's Sons*, "Freedom ends where white children begin" (Covington 2013, 548).

Having exemplified some of the most obvious recurrent motifs determining the uniqueness of the white nationalist genre, a few additional comments must be made to separate white nationalist fiction from other works that might be similar in terms of theme. In general, modern white nationalist novels, starting with the publication of *The Turner Diaries* in book form in 1978, share the following plot elements:

- a) racial awareness, which manifests itself in *anagorsis* and in racial spirit (the idea that one's blood determines one's actions in conjunction with one's racial memories), underlies the battle between what is right (in the white nationalist context) and what is convenient or easy;
- b) the white race (meaning non-Hispanic, non-Jewish, European-descended peoples), is under threat of physical extinction and this extinction must be halted by a band of racially aware revolutionaries;
- c) Jews, homosexuals, blacks, and other 'undesirables' are either deported, voluntarily flee, or are otherwise eliminated from the territory claimed by the white revolutionaries.

These fundamentals present some interesting problems for researchers of modern American literature, as they echo the 'hard right' call for a return to 'common morality' and for a rejection of all ideologies/socially acceptable behaviors that appear to damage or undermine the traditional family. Abortion, homosexuality, feminism, pornography, drug use, alcoholism, the 'rat race,' socialism, capitalism, communism, and other modern ideas are synonymous with evil, which marks American white nationalists as utterly anti-modern (in the progressive-liberal sense of the word). This also designates them as the most recent in a long line of rightists that have followed this type of conservative, albeit revolutionary, ideology. Lastly, construction-wise, the novels are reminiscent of a romance-based melodrama: their plots are fairly simple, the characters do not dither over their actions and most of them are either noble and courageous or unprincipled and cowardly—essentially reiterating the classic Manichean dichotomy of the battle between good and evil, most frequently, as has already been noted, literally expressed in 'black' and 'white'.

Bearing the above observations in mind, it is also possible to argue that the common denominators of all white nationalist novels could be identified as follows:

- a) The pertinence of the rural-urban conflict, or put simply, the fight between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots.’ Since the majority of progressive voters and supporters of current American governmental policies of diversity and multiculturalism live in the ‘Big 25’ (the twenty-five largest cities in the United States), it should not come as a surprise that many white nationalist novels vilify cities as dens of iniquity, not unlike the biblical cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. This idea has its roots in the 1880s and, more importantly, in the Progressive Era, where townspeople who supported the prohibition of alcohol railed at the evils of cities with their saloons, bars, and beer gardens.
- b) A non-mainstream approach to the interpretation of historical events, specifically those of American history. For example, the idea of the founding of the nation by white men and for white men and women is taken as a given in all the novels of the genre. Additionally, the destruction of the American white culture and family environment is laid at the feet of the elites (be they Jews, race traitor whites, or minorities) and “money-grubbing white Capitalists” who care more for money than for their race. There is also an exaltation of armed resistance to tyranny and rebellion against the Federal government, hence the elevating of the common Confederate soldier and his sacrifice in some of the earlier novels of the genre.
- c) A sense of mourning over the defeat of the Confederacy, and the subsequent cultural victories of the progressive Political left since the 1954 Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education*, which desegregated public schools across the South and the United States as a whole.
- d) A (more or less overt) veneration of Nazi Germany and the fears awakened by the victory of worldwide capitalism and communism—“two sides of the same coin—both under the control of Jews to the betterment of their race and the slavery of the white man—both treat man as an economic animal only, a being without a soul” (Covington, “Socialism,” 3). American white nationalism is mostly imbued with the writings and philosophies of several neo-Nazi writers and philosophers: Cmdr. George Lincoln Rockwell—founder of the American Nazi Party, William L. Pierce—author of *The Turner Diaries*, Order member and coiner of the famous 14 Words and 88 Precepts

David Lane, and finally, the most recent advocate of Northwest migration and the author of the aforementioned *Northwest Novels*—Harold A. Covington.

- e) A lament over the degradation of traditional morality in the 1920s (in the major cities of the United States), and the ensuing marginalization of ‘traditional’ morality that the authors perceive as having started in the late 1950s that has continued unabated to the present. This process is viewed as one initiated by unseen forces (read Jews) who want to enslave and/or destroy the white race through abortion, feminism, homosexuality, pornography, etc. It has accelerated in the previous two decades to leave the United States, from a white nationalist perspective, bordering on “depravity and wallowing in filth not matched in the West since the decadent days of the Roman emperor Caligula”.<sup>28</sup>
- f) The destruction of segregation in the South with the subsequent changes in the region that transformed it and made it more progressive, and thus more like the North: accepting abortion, homosexuality, miscegenation, immigration, etc.

The observations made thus far may lead to the premise that the hereto identified motifs of *anagorsis*, rebellion, redemption and racial spirit, embodying the thematic slant of white nationalist literature, are at the root of a unique white nationalist metanarrative. Its organizing principles underlie the logic of the presented worlds of the novels of the genre and determine their plots. Because such a discourse arises as the result of a peculiar combination of formalized religion, local mythology, political ideology and communal spirit blended together in a unique sociocultural context, it seems accurate to claim that its principles cater to the specific needs of the community in search of a renewed sense of existence, or perhaps more importantly, of the community which has never come to terms with the consequences of the annihilation of a worldview which they once took for granted, and which used to allow them to both comprehend the world and their own role within it. The recurrence of motifs such as the mystical experience of epiphany (*anagorsis*), romantic rebellion despite impossible odds, redemption verging on messianism and racial spirit, emphasizing the importance of the community, is typical for literatures born in the cultures traumatized by defeat. Allowing for national peculiarities, analogous motifs recur, for instance, in the literature of Polish romanticism; the same elements

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<sup>28</sup> Many websites mirror the evangelist Rev. Billy Graham’s comments that the United States is “as decadent as, if not more decadent than ancient Rome”. See <http://www.cnsnews.com/mrctv-blog/michael-w-chapman/rev-billy-graham-america-just-wicked-sodom-and-gomorra-ever-were> for an example.



characterize major texts of postcolonial provenance; and the same sentiments may be detected in the literature of Ireland. Similar motifs occur in nations that have also experienced defeat, with the most obvious example being those of the *Freikorps* novels of post-World War One Germany. The regularity of the emergence of these motifs in the contexts of cultures who have suffered defeat unmistakably indicates the emotional underpinnings of the collective yearning for an order warranting the notability of one's own—now denigrated—values, ways of life, and goals. Therefore, the emergent metanarrative may be understood as a product of the communal emotional want for an antidote to the trauma of defeat: an alternative interpretive paradigm in which the vilified may see themselves as virtuous and the victors are villains.

Such a hypothesis invokes the need to resort to intellectual tools developed across several disciplines, including history and historiography (metahistory), sociology, cultural theory, group psychology, and, of course, literary studies. The fusion of these tools produces what has been postulated in the initial section of this work as literary history with a psychological foundation, a research approach in which the emergence of literary phenomena and the development of the literary historical process are studied from the perspective of the rhetorical manifestations of the repressed affects, the impossibility of the expression of which is compensated for by fictions. To the writers, these fictions provide a substitutive channel for the unspeakable protest and, simultaneously, allow the readers sharing the values of the defeated community to indulge in a fantasy world where they are in the winning camp. As is demonstrated further in this work, the constant popularity of the white nationalist novel within this community seems to testify to the efficiency of such an approach.

However, in order to substantiate the above hypothesis, it is necessary to begin with mapping the present day state of research to indicate the gaps that still need filling. In order to warrant that such possible white spaces are inscribed with verifiable knowledge, it is indispensable to work out a methodologically sound theoretical instrument, with the help of which criteria for a systematic study of the literary material can be scrutinized. Finally, it is the analytical inquiry that needs to be carried out with the view to answering the overarching research question of this work: how can the novels of the white nationalist genre be perceived as historical source artifacts, allowing a historian of literature to indicate the psychologically grounded mechanisms responsible for the continuity and change in the literary historical process,

accounting both for the formation of the centrality of the canon and for the emergence of marginal literatures?

Therefore, Chapter One sketches the present day state of research on American white nationalism, as research into white nationalist prose is nonexistent and also presents the main tenets of the studies that underpin the argument of this book. Chapter Two introduces Wolfgang Schivelbusch and his theory of the culture of defeat. Along with Schivelbusch, this chapter also studies the function of enemies within group psychology. Chapter Three begins with an examination of the personal side of the culture of defeat by scrutinizing James Gilligan's theories on respect and violence. Gilligan is a prison psychologist of some renown and the author of *Violence: Reflections of a National Epidemic*. Furthermore, it continues with an analysis of the various cycles of white nationalist novels. Finally, the last section of Chapter Three examines the theories of Thomas Scheff on group conflict, which are contained in his work, *Bloody Revenge: Emotions, Nationalism, and War*.

The above amalgam of theories is used to develop a unique tool helpful in getting to the root of the issue of cultural trauma and its meaning in American white nationalist novels in Chapter Four. This issue, as will be seen, is not 'knee jerk racism' but a deeper psychological phenomenon that includes history, manhood, the loss of respect, the destruction of values and beliefs, and the loss of a future that might have been, combined with the fantasy of a future that might still occur. Overall, the novels under examination in Chapter Four can be seen as dystopian and utopian—dystopian in examining what is wrong, in the white nationalist context, with current American, and overall, Western society—and utopian in presenting an escape from the current dilemma that is perceived by white nationalists and the possibility for something better.

The answers to the problems of race in America proposed in the novels set them apart from other right wing, America Collapsed/Invaded/Subverted, collectively known as the TEOTWAWKI novels. This particular genre has deep roots in American literature starting with the Convent Exposés of the 1830s, continuing with the Yellow Peril novels of the 1880s–1940s, the 'hard-boiled' detective novels of the 1930s–1950s which featured the evil villains of Communists, either home-grown or foreign, beatniks, hippies, and other non-Americans including Nazi survivors and later, neo-Nazis. This genre morphed in the mid-1990s into the America Collapsed novels and/or the America Invaded/Subverted genre, which also has deep roots in American history and literature starting with Scotsman John Robison's 1798 anti-

Illuminati expose *Proofs of a Conspiracy* which contributed to one of the first ‘scares’ in American history, the Illuminati scare of the late 1790s-early 1800s. In essence, the white nationalist genre shares some of the same motifs as the TEOTWAWKI novels but adds a heady dose of racism to the mix of characters and plots.<sup>29</sup> Finally, the last part of Chapter Four expands upon the most important trends to illuminate the intricacy of the web of interconnecting ideas to show how trauma and a particular reading of history and historical processes combine to influence and develop this particular literary genre. While summarizing the findings, the last section of Chapter Four also delves into the mindset of contemporary white nationalists to show the implacable attitude towards contemporary ideas of progressivism and diversity.

Finally, Chapter Five proposes areas for further research regarding white nationalist literature and demonstrates that, in general, the field remains *terra incognita*; besides a few monographs on Thomas Dixon Jr. and William Pierce, no monographs and very few published articles have appeared. Generally, because the novels produced by white nationalists of various stripes have received short shrift from academics, the chapter reiterates that such research should be continued. The lack thereof would place America (and other communities, where white nationalism rises to power) in a most dangerous and unfortunate situation: dangerous, because a movement that is capable of killing people and calling for armed insurrection deserves to be studied thoroughly by dispassionate scholars willing to delve into the milieu presented by the movement; unfortunate, because the lack of research hides a very important subculture from American scholars and allows for simplistic explanations for a series of complex—and interwoven—ideologies with but one goal—the establishment of an ethnically and morally pure white republic on the territory of the United States. It is possible that this lack of information and the simplistic explanations regarding the American white nationalist metanarrative may come back to haunt American society. American society, it seems, has a very short historical memory and the popular culture seems to ‘live in the moment.’ In this context, the words of Reinhart Koselleck as regards defeated nations are apt: “While history may be temporarily made by the victors who hold onto it for a while, it never allows itself to be ruled for long. [...] The historian

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<sup>29</sup> Americanist scholars have also yet to delve into the America Invaded/Collapsed/TEOTWAWKI novels. The genre has been developing for quite some time with various authors trying their hand at the novels that populate the genre—among them, Thomas Dixon, Wesley James [.] Rawles, and William W. Johnstone. At present, the genre mostly concerns fighting an oppressive Federal government and/or a country-wide systems collapse. Probably the most famous of these novels is the *Enemies* trilogy by former U. S. Special Forces operative Matthew Bracken. Bracken’s trilogy consists of *Enemies: Foreign and Domestic* (2004), *Domestic Enemies: The Reconquista* (2006), and *Foreign Enemies and Traitors: The Greater Depression and Civil War Two* (2009).

who stands on the side of the victorious is easily tempted to interpret triumphs of the moment as the lasting outcomes of an ex post facto teleology” (quoted in Schivelbusch 2003, 3).

# 1. Visions of the Never-Ending War:

## Mapping the State of Research on American White Nationalism

*The bestseller is more apt to mirror the surface values and mores of its time and place more than the profound analysis of a great writer whose themes are universal. Today's crank or fanatic may be the herald of tomorrow's great cause. (Hanna 1985, x)*

*Works of fiction—novels and poetry—can mean more to a people than all the political manifestos and reports from all the think tanks and foundations ever established by misguided philanthropy. A people's character, at its best and worst, can be read from its novels. (qtd. in Hague, et al 2008, 226)*

*To study a myth is like studying the whole body of a nation. (Franz 1980, 13)*

There can be little argument that the American Civil War gouged a path of trauma through the soul of the United States. Indeed, as this work argues, the repercussions of the war are still being felt and its culture of trauma; specifically, the culture of defeat among white nationalists is still being experienced and acted upon by various individuals. One of the ways in which this culture of traumatic defeat has been expressed is by the writing of novels by white nationalists of innumerable stripes. Also, it may be argued that the 'angry white male' syndrome has more to do with the pervasive sense of loss that is felt amongst traditional, conservative white men and their astonishment at the victories of the cultural political left in recent years.<sup>30</sup> Finally, it is the loss of a way of life, of a 'traditional' America and the sense that "something just isn't right" with the way in which the society of the United States has been progressing that has been causing apprehension and anger among a certain sector of the white population in the U.S. since the end of World War Two or even before, depending on the author under discussion. Culture, at its most elemental, changes over time and one of the ways of measuring that change is through using historical constructions, such as novels. Bearing in mind the complexity of the historical and psychological conditioning of the ideas presented in this study, this chapter sets out

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<sup>30</sup> This issue has been partly explored by James W. Gibson in his book *Warrior Dreams: Violence and Manhood in Post-Vietnam America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994) and more recently by Michael Kimmel in his *Angry White Males: American Masculinity at the End of an Era* (New York: Nation Books, 2013). Kimmel seems to place the blame for these feelings on American white males' "sense of 'entitlement.'" This project takes the stance that the 'blame' can be placed on a much deeper psychological trauma and that the answers are much more complex than Kimmel supposes.

to examine the miniscule body of work by scholars who have explored the phenomena responsible for the rise and evolution of the American white nationalist metanarrative before, and whose reflections inform the shape of the present argument. However, since the existing academic output dedicated to problems central to this work is largely limited to the work of the so-called ‘hate scholars,’ i.e. researchers who concentrate on tracing the evolution of the variety of personages, groups and acts of violence against the backdrop of general American history, this chapter also endeavors to supplement and expand on some of the scholarly reflections upon the more important ideas at the root of American white nationalism to help the reader understand just how ‘far off the reservation’ from the American mainstream white nationalists are.

The transition of the United States from majority white to “majority minority” is one of the main issues that has occupied Conservatives since the election of Barack Obama in 2008. However, to white nationalists, the demographic change of the United States is close to apocalyptic. Furthermore, the lack of “cultural capital” and the seeming destruction of white society’s values have impacted not only white nationalists but also mainstream conservative researchers as well.

Sociology professor Charles Murray has tracked the problems that American white society has had since 1960 in his book *Coming Apart: The State of White America, 1960–2010*.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, while white nationalism appears to be the most radical expression of the anxiety that white Americans feel about the state of their status within American society, Murray’s study proves that there may be cause for concern. Politically, white nationalist novels present a future that could be and a future that would have been had the Confederacy won the war. Furthermore, with the more recent novels, the picture they collectively paint is of a future that can be, if only whites will wake up from the ‘nightmare’ of “cultural Marxism”-diversity and multiculturalism.<sup>32</sup> Historically, white nationalist novels promote a very conservative, traditional way of societal organization based around the traditional family unit of a man, a woman and children, which is viewed as the natural state of the white race.

While Murray was one of the authors of the infamous *The Bell Curve*, *Coming Apart* examines how white America changed over a four decade period through an examination of two

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<sup>31</sup>Charles H. Murray, *Coming Apart: White America, 1965-2013* (New York: Free Press, 2015).

<sup>32</sup> The appellation “cultural Marxism” was given to this ideology by Christian Identity minister Rev. Robert Miles in the early 1980s as an all-encompassing term to describe various anti-Western tendencies in research on history, psychology and sociology. At present, it is an inclusive term used by white nationalists for any ideology that is seen as subverting white values.

different neighborhoods, the mythical Fishtown, based on a working-class white neighborhood in suburban Boston, and Belmont, an upper-class neighborhood based on an upper-class neighborhood in suburban Washington, D.C. What his study shows is that increasingly, white America is being divided by class, with working-class whites and upper-class whites living in “two separate worlds.” Murray in no way scrutinizes the white nationalist movement, however, his book is helpful in probing the ways in which white society has changed. Specifically, by inspecting such ideas as the loss of cultural capital and the destruction of the white working class, he exposes some of the major fractures that various pundits have suggested have plagued white society since the 1960s. Murray chose to explore the white part of society to “crystallize the problems that have occurred with the loss of cultural capital and the fractures caused by the culture wars from the late 1960s to the present” (Murray 2014).<sup>33</sup>

Whereas Murray’s study analyzes the white part of society, very few scholars have studied the white nationalist milieu, and, more specifically, American white nationalism. In light of the above, this chapter focuses on the studies, both academic and popular, that examine this group. The first section examines the general works of white nationalism with other sections exploring American nativism, the Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan, and other reincarnations of the far right, ending with an examination of research into the present-day militia movement and the white separatist movement.

## **1.1 American White Nationalist Novels in Light of General American Historiography**

Overall, there are very few general works on American white nationalism and, other than a few sparse monographs on two white nationalist authors—Thomas Dixon and William Pierce, no works at all exist on white nationalist fiction. Reviewing the state of research on American white nationalism in general, however, does allow for the highlighting of particular monographs that pertain to certain aspects of white nationalist prose, even though direct references to such

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<sup>33</sup> <http://www.youtu.be/eB5kQ2XDbAg>. Uploaded by the Aspen Institute. 18.03.2014 (access: 24.04.2015).

works are scarce. The above notwithstanding, some of the theoretical positions adopted by the scholars mentioned below seem useful in the exploration of the white nationalist novel as a ‘source’ and as a product of the cultural conditioning of the environment from where such fictions originated.

The most frequently quoted work on the history of white nationalism is by noted Syracuse historian David H. Bennett, *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History*.<sup>34</sup> Bennett’s work is a masterpiece of narrative history, “The best account we have of the Far Right in American history” (Front cover of the Vintage Books edition, 1995). His analysis of the various re/incarnations of nativism, which includes white nationalism, in the U.S., with its myriad of groups and splinters is second to none. However, while he does examine the Convent Exposés of the first wave of anti-Catholicism, Thomas Dixon’s *Reconstruction Trilogy* consisting of *The Leopard’s Spots* (1902), *The Clansman* (1905) and *The Traitor: A Story of the Fall of the Invisible Empire* (1907) and William L. Pierce’s *The Turner Diaries* (1978), his analysis as to why the novels were written and what impact they have had are missing. Furthermore, he does not examine any other novels other than those mentioned above, leaving the Yellow Peril and first Red Scare literature of the 1870s–1920s aside, although to be fair, the Yellow Peril novels have been covered by other authors as seen below. Furthermore, Bennett’s work is a major historically-oriented study, with white nationalist literature being an ancillary component of his research.

Before Bennett’s monumental work on the history of the American Far Right, the only books available were books on the history of the fear of conspiracy and/or subversion and the history of racial ideas within the United States. With the rise of the socially active social scientists of the early 1960s, history and its associated fields, including literary studies, entered a golden age of publishing. One of the first books to appear that examined America’s unique racial situation was Thomas F. Gossett’s *Race: The History of an Idea in America*.<sup>35</sup> Gossett’s monograph is a good (if a bit dated) introduction to America’s racial conundrum; however, for the purposes of this study, Gossett’s most important contribution is the impact his book had on

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<sup>34</sup> David H. Bennett, *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1988). The book was reissued with a new introduction and chapter under the title *The Party of Fear: The American Far Right from Nativism to the Militia Movement* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

<sup>35</sup> Thomas F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (Austin, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963).



future scholarly monographs. He does mention Thomas Dixon and Thomas Nelson Page but other than that, he examines no other white nationalist fiction authors.

A decade later, in the first two years of the 1970s, four books made their appearance that also impacted the way that future scholars of American white nationalism approached their subject(s). These books were: Gary B. Nash and Richard Weiss' edited work *The Great Fear: Race in the Mind of America* (1970), *The Politics of Unreason: Right-Wing Extremism in America, 1790–1970* by Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, Pulitzer Prize winning David Brion Davis' edited volume *The Fear of Conspiracy: Images of Un-American Subversion from the Revolution to the Present*, and *Conspiracy: The Fear of Subversion in American History* edited by Richard O. Curry and Thomas M. Brown.<sup>36</sup> Largely, the above four books cover much the same ground, though *The Great Fear* concentrates mostly on how race has influenced American society. Furthermore, *The Great Fear* also includes an article on the American Indian, a topic not normally included in collections of essays on American racial attitudes at the time, which prefer to concentrate instead on the divisiveness between white and black. The essays in the study range from race in Colonial America to “Manifest Destiny and the Indian in the Nineteenth Century,” to race and the labor movement, a study of the “Sambo” character, with a concluding essay by psychohistorian Peter Lowenberg entitled “The Psychology of Racism.” *The Great Fear* is wide-ranging in its approach to the topic; however, bearing the goals of the present study in mind, it does not cover any of the subject areas that are addressed here, especially because its scope entirely excludes white nationalist fiction.

While *The Great Fear* is interesting, it is the other works, specifically Davis,' and Lipset and Rabb's books that are the most important for the development of the study of race and Far Right in the United States. Davis' work is a collection of documents relating to the idea of conspiracy/subversion and, while not related directly to the present project, it set the tone by which scholars studying the American Far Right took their cue. Furthermore, Davis' opening essay “Some Themes of Countersubversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and

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<sup>36</sup> Gary B. Nash and Richard Weiss, editors. *The Great Fear: Race in the Mind of America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, *The Politics of Unreason: Right-Wing Extremism in America, 1790–1970* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), David Brion Davis, editor. *The Fear of Conspiracy: Images of Un-American Subversion from the Revolution to the Present* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1971). Richard O. Curry and Thomas M. Brown, *Conspiracy: The Fear of Subversion in American History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972).

Anti-Mormon Literature” is typical of the rational way in which the study of paranoia and subversion is studied in these works:

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when danger of foreign invasion appeared increasingly remote, Americans were told by various respected leaders that freemasons had infiltrated the government and had seized control of the courts, that Mormons were undermining political and economic freedom in the West, and that Roman Catholic priests, receiving instructions from Rome, had made frightening progress in a plot to subject the nation to popish despotism. This fear of internal subversion was channeled into a number of countermovements which attracted wide public support. The literature produced by these movements evoked images of a great American enemy that closely resembled traditional European stereotypes of conspiracy and subversion (Davis 1971, 10).

Lipset and Raab’s work, on the other hand, is a general history on what the authors determine is “Right-Wing Extremism.” While the authors include Joe McCarthy and the John Birch Society in their work, at present, most scholars would place them in the anti-communist camp, rather than in the modern anti-government white nationalist group. As an overview of the Far Right, the work contains various chapters ranging from “Before the Civil War” through to “George Wallace and the New Nativism.” As with most works of this kind, the chapters contain slight references to the literature of the Far Right but never go into detail, nor do they analyze the Far Right novels within the overall feeling of trauma felt by the racist Right.

Curry and Brown’s collection of essays covers all aspects of the American history of conspiracy from Colonial America to McCarthyism. The essays examine Southern Slave Power, anti-Lincoln Copperheads, the Red Scare, Populism, the Progressive era Ku Klux Klan, Father Coughlin and the Depression era resistance to FDR and other issues. Within those topics, the editors propose:

Four major questions arise from a consideration of fears of conspiracy in American history. First, we must ask *when* these fears have been pervasive enough to affect national politics. Second, we must make clear *against whom* the numerous anticonspiracy crusades in our history have been directed. Third, we must ask *why* such fears exist. Finally, we need to know *what effects* the fear of subversion has had in shaping both political attitudes and specific government policies (Curry and Brown 1972, vii)

These four questions are answered by the authors of the essays; however, as regards the present work, the lack of examination of the Redeemer, Red Scare and other Far Right forms of literature is glaring.

One of the most understudied aspects of the white nationalist movement in the United States is religion among white nationalists, particularly Asatru or Odinist paganism and Christian Identity. Only two studies, Michael Barkun’s *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement* (1994) and Mattias Gardell’s *Gods of the Blood: The Pagan*

*Revival and White Separatism* (2003) have delved into, what most American Christians would argue, are the more peculiar aspects of white nationalist religious belief.<sup>37</sup> Unlike many scholars of the white nationalist movement, Barkun actually examines the fictional writings of the early 1940s Christian Identity adherents, namely *Mog and Magog* (published in 1942) and 1944's *When?*, both published by the British Columbia British Israel Association. While his analysis is excellent from the eschatological point-of-view of the novels, he does not place them within the overall scheme of white nationalist fiction, nor does he examine the novel published by the Christian Identity Church of Jesus Christ Christian Aryan Nations in 1992 *Children of the Ice*, written by Joseph Walthers. Gardell's work is a massively complex tome spanning the earliest beginnings of racist paganism to 2003. Although he concentrates on the religious aspects of what is termed Asatru (the racist version of paganism/Odinism), he does not consider any other novels than *The Turner Diaries*, which it seems has become required reading for anyone studying or indeed, anyone who considers himself/herself a part of the white nationalist movement.

The precursors of not only *The Turner Diaries*, but of the American white nationalist movement as a whole, include the various incarnations of American nativism, as well as the numerous manifestations of the Ku Klux Klan, and the anti-immigrant movements. Therefore, the next subchapter examines the research that has been conducted on American nativism, which ties into the American white nationalist movement because both groups are suspicious of foreign influences and deeply aware of the shifting morality of America.

## 1.2 Academic Perspectives on American 'Nativism'

Since American white nationalism grew out of American nativism and incorporated some of its tenets, mainly its fear of foreigners and foreign influences/ideology, the research regarding nativism needs to be examined. The first book to provide an overall view of American nativism was published in 1938, authored by Ray Allen Billington and entitled *The Protestant Crusade: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism*.<sup>38</sup> The book was one of the first to examine the Convent Exposés that helped to stir anti-Catholic resentment and provide a basis for acts of

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<sup>37</sup> Michael Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC: University Press of North Carolina, 1994). Mattias Gardell, *Gods of the Blood: The Pagan Revival and White Separatism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

<sup>38</sup> Ray Allen Billington. *The Protestant Crusade: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism*, reprint paperback edition, (Quadrangle, 1964). Originally published in 1938.

violence against Catholics in the early republic period of American history. Furthermore, these works set the precedence for other right-wing/nativist movements that propagandized their beliefs through fiction.

Billington's work was followed by several studies on nativism in the late 1960s to late 1970s but only Carleton Beals *Brass-Knuckle Crusade: The Great Know-Nothing Conspiracy, 1820–1860* referenced any form of fiction, again analyzing the Convent Exposés.<sup>39</sup> Among the other examples of studies on nativism in this period are John Higham's *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (1969), which focused on the American Protective Association, and Ira M. Leonard and Robert D. Parmet's *American Nativism, 1830–1860* (1971).<sup>40</sup> Neither book examines any form of fiction but instead concentrate on the economic and societal fears that stoked the hatred of Catholics in the antebellum and immediate post-Reconstruction period. In a sense, this is understandable, as the second wave of American nativism produced no fictional works and by 1915, most nativists had been incorporated into the 2<sup>nd</sup> era Ku Klux Klan, the Klan of the Progressive Era, but, since nativist sentiments could be traced back to the early colonial period, such an omission seems unjustified, especially that the rather ambitious time-frame of the study covers the years in which the Convent Exposés came into existence.

However, two other works of note do deal with the Convent Exposés in particular—Jenny Franchot's *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (1994) and Susan M. Griffin's *Anti-Catholicism and Nineteenth Century American Fiction* (1998).<sup>41</sup> The most interesting fact about these studies is that both attempt to show how ingrained American anti-Catholicism was without examining the roots of anti-alien feeling, which was trauma over the religious wars that had been fought between England and her mostly Catholic enemies in the past. The passions unleashed by these wars, as well as by the early settlers' belief that they were chosen by God to be an example, "a city upon the hill," buttressed the anti-Catholic feeling among various groups in the early Republic, and later also within the Know Nothing Party.

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<sup>39</sup> Carleton Beals. *Brass-Knuckle Crusade: The Great Know-Nothing Conspiracy, 1820-1860* (New York: Hastings House, 1960).

<sup>40</sup> John Higham. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), Ira M. Leonard and Robert D. Parmet. *American Nativism, 1830-1860* (New York: Robert F. Krieger, 1979)—Reprint edition, originally published in 1971.

<sup>41</sup> Jenny Franchot. *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), Susan M. Griffin, *Anti-Catholicism and Nineteenth Century American Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

Furthermore, the fear of having white Protestant women converted to Catholicism was one of the overriding factors in the anti-Catholic wave of violence that swept New England and the Mid-Atlantic states in the mid-1830s, which was reinforced by the sweeping demographic changes accompanying the first surge of Irish immigration. As stated by the author of 1855's *Danger in the Dark*, Issac Kelso:

Though by no means an alarmist, the author would unveil the dark designs, insidious movements, and hidden policy of the Papal Hierarchy, and, at the same time, bring to light the duplicity, craft and trickery practiced in our midst by the order of Jesuits—a brotherhood of pious assassins, the vilest and most despicable of our race; who in every land, as well as our own are the sworn enemy of civil and religious liberty. [...] Convinced that *vigilance* is the price of liberty, and regarding the audacious attempt of subverting the American system of education as but a prelude to yet bolder attacks, if possible, upon the free institutions of the Republic, and coming as it does from a class of men who owe allegiance to a foreign despot, and bow to a master in Rome, the author has been led to feel that every true-hearted American is called upon, and should be urged to guard, with a constantly wakeful and jealous eye, the blood-bought heritage of freedom (Kelso 1855, v-vi)!

This type of rhetoric abounds in the novels, but scholars have preferred to examine the economic motives behind the anti-Catholic riots in the North and Mid-Atlantic states, rather than to attribute this rhetoric to trauma or fear. Furthermore, no scholar has attempted to examine why the South welcomed the Irish immigrants with seemingly open arms while the abolitionist North treated the Irish worse than the few freedmen within their midst, which many white Southern slave owners at the time would use as an argument against the morality of the Northerners.

The idea of “protecting white womanhood,” one of the slogans of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> KKK, has filtered through the philosophy of American white nationalism to the present day, as is further examined in later chapters. Finally, it must be remembered that the Puritans and Separatists who flocked to New England and who made up the ruling class of the area were adamant anti-Catholics, like Harriet Beecher Stowe’s father, Lyman Beecher who wrote the famous anti-Catholic nativist polemic “The Call of the West,” while at the same time, advocating abolitionism in the antebellum South, thus setting a precedence for what in the antebellum Southern and current white nationalist mind at least, is the double standard and hypocrisy of the Northern elite, expanded in later years to include the bureaucrats in the federal government and the progressives/liberals who pushed the South to be more egalitarian.

While the first wave of American nativism was eclipsed by the sectional conflict that led to the American Civil War, it is the aftermath of that war and the Reconstruction of the South that has provided scholars with more opportunities to examine the first organization that took nascent American white nationalism to further heights—the Ku Klux Klan. Unfortunately, most scholars

have also ignored the mythology that circulated around the Reconstruction Klan through what this work calls the Redeemer novels.

### 1.3 Research into the Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan and the Reconstruction South

The first academic work on the Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan was published in 1939. Written by historian Stanley F. Horn and entitled *Invisible Empire: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan 1866–1871*, the monograph is a historical narrative that pictured the Reconstruction Klan as a violent, conservative revolutionary organization.<sup>42</sup> (Before Horn's work, the only works available on the Reconstruction Klan were two "memoirs," Susan Lawrence Davis' *The Invisible Empire, 1865-1877* and Mrs. S.E.F. Rose's *The Ku Klux Klan or The Invisible Empire* and several works that also proclaimed to be memoirs, such as H. Damer's, *When the Ku Klux Klan Rode*<sup>43</sup>). Horn was the first to use the Congressional *Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of the Late Insurrectionary States* (more commonly known as *The KKK Report*) of 1871 as a primary source to show how the Klan was organized, the activities it engaged in and the government's attempts at suppressing the order. The above notwithstanding, Horn, like scholars before him, ignored the Redeemer novels of the post-Reconstruction period that glorified the Klan and associated organizations either as a source of historical knowledge or as a product of the phenomena he discusses.<sup>44</sup> In general, Horn's book is critical of the Klan and its actions, though he does admit that "[a]n organization such as the Ku Klux Klan could have been organized and sustained only in such circumstances as prevailed in the South following the War Between the States" (xii). Indeed, it set the standard for scholarship on the Reconstruction Klan for a decade or more and is still used by scholars of the Reconstruction period. However, *Invisible Empire* only scratches the surface of the trauma felt by Southerners at losing the war.

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<sup>42</sup> Stanley F. Horn, *Invisible Empire: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan 1866-1871* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1939).

<sup>43</sup> See footnote, #94 for complete bibliographical citations.

<sup>44</sup> The 'Ku Klux Klan' is the common name for many of the white regulator organizations of the Reconstruction South. These groups included the White Brotherhood, the Red Shirts, the Knights of the White Camelia (active mostly in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and eastern Texas), The Pale Faces, among others. It is hard to establish what groups were responsible for what actions, though the KKK or 'Kluxers,' to use contemporary parlance, took credit for establishing 'home rule' throughout the South, replacing 'negro,' 'carpetbag,' and 'scalawag' rule with native Southern (read 'elite, planter, white supremacist') rule. The Klan Apologia or Redeemer novels of the immediate post-Reconstruction period are of particular interest, as they set the stage for later white nationalist novels.

Therefore, while Horn's work is a good introduction to the Reconstruction KKK, it has gaps in its analysis of the reasons for the Klan's emergence and, more importantly, the mythology surrounding the organization in the post-Reconstruction era. Following the Second World War and the rise of the 'socially active' historians and literary scholars of the late 1950s and 1960s, many works on the far/racist right and the problems in the South, along with the rise of the Civil Rights movement focused on looking for historical answers to the questions of why the South had developed like it had, why the United States had evolved into a racist country as well as why the white South was so reactionary in its politics towards blacks. Toward that end, scholars turned their attention to the particular historical and social processes in the South.

Several books were published in the late 1950s and early 1960s that shed light on the historical process of the white nationalist movement, but say very little on the metanarratives that were produced up to that time, treating the literary production only marginally. In essence, the works from this period up to the present day are from the 'historian activist' school of historical research that seeks to show the problems of the past in order to change people's minds about the present and the future. Influenced by the Frankfurt School and Franz Boas' anthropological theories when applied to the historical process, historians and academic activists from this period sought "to expose the lies" of the white nationalist racist/white supremacist right. Examples of these works include Laurence E. Alan Baughman's *Southern Rape Complex: Hundred Year Psychosis* (1966), Lawrence J. Friedman's *The White Savage: Racial Fantasies in the Postbellum South* (1970), and Forrest G. Wood's *Black Scare: The Racist Response to Emancipation and Reconstruction* (1970).<sup>45</sup> While Friedman's book does touch upon Thomas Dixon and a few other Southern writers who dealt with race, he glosses over any hints at a deeper social trauma present in the post-Confederate South which may help explain the reasons for the South's resistance to Radical Reconstruction and its aftermath. Instead, Friedman focuses on the South's social "backwardness" and, above all, economic factors. Furthermore, the author spends a large amount of time exploring the resistance against the "racial fantasies in the postbellum south" and not much time in explaining why and how these "racist" fantasies came about. Baughman's work, in turn, has very little background on Southern culture and the culture

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<sup>45</sup> Laurence E. Alan Baughman, *Southern Rape Complex: Hundred Year Psychosis* (New York: Pendulum, 1966), Lawrence J. Friedman, *The White Savage: Racial Fantasies in the Postbellum South* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1970), Forrest G. Wood, *Black Scare: The Racist Response to Emancipation and Reconstruction* (Berkeley, CA: University Press of California, 1970).

of racial separatism/segregation that was practiced in the South at the time. Indeed, his book sheds no new light on how Redeemer literature played into the white South's fears of miscegenation/amalgamation and the Black Scare. Wood's monograph is the most informative study on the Black Scare; however, his book is chiefly oriented towards explaining the politics of the postbellum South and focuses on how Northern fears of a renewed conflict fed into its abandonment of racial equality, allowing for a return to power of the white planter elite in the post-Reconstruction South, and the eventual introduction of Jim Crow.

More importantly, during this period, Louisiana State University Press released Allen W. Trelease's *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction*, which is considered the penultimate study of the Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan.<sup>46</sup> While his work is an overall general history of the Reconstruction Klan that set the standard by which all other academic studies on the subject are measured, Trelease concentrates more on the Klan's actions and the economic motivations behind those actions than the society and the men that produced it. It is common knowledge that the founders of the original Klan were Confederate veterans and, like many other groups, their actions during the period of Radical Reconstruction (1867–1871) fed a legend that was depicted in fiction. Trelease, however, does not mention the Reconstruction Klan's fictional legacy of the period, which includes a number of texts that came into existence between the publication of Brinsley Matthews' *Well Nigh Reconstructed: A Political Novel* (1882) and the launch of Thomas Nelson Page's *Red Rock: A Chronicle of Reconstruction* (1924). While the legacy has continued in various forms, white nationalist fiction has used other ways of expressing its appreciation to the Reconstruction Klan, such as the development of the neo-Confederate novels. However, it is important to examine these Redeemer works, as they provide a prism with which to see the rest of American white nationalist fiction as the authors of the works try to make sense of a world that, in their eyes, has 'gone mad.' Hence, this is one important divergence from the aforementioned works: the present project delves deeper into the psyche of the post-Civil War South to expose the trauma that is still present within the white nationalist right over the loss of the Civil War.

Thomas Dixon Jr. is the writer who bridges the Redeemer novels with what would be embryonic modern white nationalist literature. The first academic biography of the author of *The Clansman* appeared at the height of this era of budding research into American white

<sup>46</sup> Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1971). Reissued in a paperback edition in 1995.



nationalism, 1968.<sup>47</sup> This book is Raymond A. Cook's *Fire from the Flint: The Amazing Careers of Thomas Dixon* and while one of only three biographies of Thomas Dixon, it is by far the most sympathetic. Cook does an exacting job in navigating the twists and turns of Dixon's life and provides ample summaries of his novels, stating in the Forward:

Born in obscurity, this man became familiar to millions of people, but by the time of his death he was virtually forgotten. Reared in poverty, he rose to great wealth, only to die bankrupt. He was a prolific and famous novelist of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods, who said his aim was to reconcile the North and South, but his books and plays and motion pictures made from them created bitter controversy and dissension. The praise of the original Ku Klux Klan in his works may have had a strong influence on the growth of the resurrected Klans of the 1920's, yet he was the bitter and uncompromising foe of the "renegade Klans," as he called them. Strongly biased against the Negro, he ironically became one of the forces that drove the Negro to militant demands for equality (Cook 1968, vii).

However, for all of Cook's intricate detail on Dixon's life, he does not place Dixon's novels within the context of the ebb and flow of American white nationalism, which admittedly was not the focus of his work.

The above notwithstanding, Dixon and his novels are the most frequently researched topic in the field of white nationalist literature. He was an extremely prolific author, writing nineteen novels, numerous essays and sermons, plays and screenplays, though most scholars seem to concentrate on his *Reconstruction Trilogy*, ignoring or glossing over his other works, including his *Socialist Trilogy*, his America Invaded novel—1916's *The Fall of A Nation*, and his last, and arguably, most important novel from the white nationalist perspective, *The Flaming Sword* (1939). Indeed, the other two biographies of Dixon, Anthony Slide's *American Racist: The Life and Films of Thomas Dixon* (2004) and *Thomas Dixon Jr. and the Birth of Modern America* by Michele K. Gillespie and Randal L. Hall (2006) are cases in point, in that they do not concentrate on his lesser known works.<sup>48</sup> Slide's monograph is a wonderful work of scholarship on Dixon's life and films, many of which like the screenplay for *Birth of A Nation* were adapted from his novels. However, while his examination of the impact Dixon's films had on the burgeoning film industry is informative, his focus is lacking when he examines the ideological and psychological motivations behind Dixon's writings. Although the ideological and psychological backgrounds of many of Dixon's novels include an overwhelming sense of

<sup>47</sup> Raymond Allen Cook, *Fire from the Flint: The Amazing Careers of Thomas Dixon* (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, 1968).

<sup>48</sup> Anthony Slide, *American Racist: The Life and Films of Thomas Dixon* (Louisville, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), Michele K. Gillespie and Randal L. Hall, *Thomas Dixon Jr. and the Birth of Modern America* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2006).

trepidation concerning the path America had taken towards urbanization and multiculturalism (though Dixon did not use the term, employing the concept of socialism instead), as well as the glorification of the Reconstruction KKK and the former Confederacy, Gillespie and Hall's monograph is more concerned with American society as a whole and its reactions, both positive and negative, to Dixon's writings. While they do address some of the most important issues within the first four decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century—those of industrialization, race, urbanization—and the accompanying change in morality during the time of Dixon's literary activity, as critically oriented scholars they do not frame his novels in the way he framed them, i.e. as warnings to the white race about their impending doom if they followed the Northern path of industrialization, socialism, and urbanization. In essence, Gillespie and Hall focus on the racist aspects of Dixon's novels (and the accompanying criticism and protest from the NAACP over Dixon's *Birth of a Nation*) lacks the perspective that is most important to the present work: the scholars pay no attention to the trauma of defeat and fear associated with becoming a nonentity, which—as the present study argues—are the major triggers of Dixon's resentment.

Finally, Joel Williamson's account of black-white relations in the post-Civil War South *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* needs to be mentioned.<sup>49</sup> His work is particularly valuable owing to its scope and Williamson's insights into both, the overall white Southern community and its freedman counterpart. Important to the present work is the fact that he extensively analyzes Thomas Dixon's *Reconstruction Trilogy* and their impact on white views (which, as could be argued, was more of a buttressing of already ingrained beliefs). Furthermore, he also examines Thomas Nelson Page, who, while not as vociferous as Dixon on racial affairs, was another important Redeemer novelist and the publisher of Thomas Dixon's first three novels. The problem that Williamson's book poses is that, like most authors on the South, he glosses over the trauma experienced by the defeated community of former Confederates and their resistance to any form of imposed social engineering, i.e.: the acts passed by the Republican Party during the Radical Reconstruction phase that would have given freed slaves equal rights to whites, known collectively as The Reconstruction Acts (Trelease 1995, xvi-xvii).<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the South since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

<sup>50</sup> See Trelease's Introduction in *White Terror* for an academic perspective; Susan Davis, *Authentic History of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1877*, Chapter III: "The Ku Klux Klan in Alabama" and Michael A. Gissom *The Last Rebel Yell*, Chapter VIII: "Why We Are Still Fighting the War" for a Redeemer and neo-Confederate perspective,

From the literary point of view, three works that study the post-Reconstruction South stand out for what they do not contain more for what they do, namely James Kinney's *Amalgamation!: Race, Sex, and Rhetoric in the Nineteenth-Century American Novel* (1983), Sandra Gunning's 1996 study *Race, Rape and Lynching: The Red Record of American Literature, 1890–1912* and Mason Stokes' *The Color of Sex: Whiteness, Heterosexuality and The Fictions of White Supremacy* (2001).<sup>51</sup> Kinney's book is a fascinating tour of American racial writing and is of interest, as it shows America's and the South's obsession with "race-mixing" (miscegenation/amalgamation). It does not, however, analyze the more strident of Redeemer novels that were published after Reconstruction in the South, focusing solely on the exploration of Dixon's *Reconstruction Trilogy*. As with most scholars, also Kinney abstains from placing Dixon in the long line of embryonic white nationalist authors who, while grieving over the defeat, simultaneously issue a warning (as they saw it) with their fiction. Of the three, Gunning's is a traditional thematic study of authors—including Dixon—who have used lynching as part of the plot in their fiction. While it is an excellent overview of such literature, the work suffers from a lack of a more profound insight into the social or psychological mechanisms underlying the justification discourses generated by the society of the South. Because the novelists she examines developed their narratives when lynching itself was practiced, such a lack of perspective begs a question. In turn, Stokes' queer-theory-based study of white Southern authors, *The Color of Sex: Whiteness, Heterosexuality and The Fictions of White Supremacy*, despite its promising title only deals with one white supremacist author (Dixon). Stokes' main point is that whiteness and heterosexuality are intertwined in white supremacist writings and that many authors reinforced these views with the novels they produced. Interesting as Stokes' work is, from the point of view of the present project, an older title the 1983 study by Fred Hobson titled *Tell about the South: The Southern Rage to Explain* seems to offer a wider explanatory perspective.<sup>52</sup> While Hobson does not specifically examine the Redeemer or Klan Apologia novels of the late 1800s, he does study the milieu that produced them and the reasons why white Southern intellectuals of the

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respectively.

<sup>51</sup> James Kinney, *Amalgamation!: Race, Sex and Rhetoric in the Nineteenth-Century American Novel* (Greenwood, 1985), Sandra Gunning, *Race, Rape and Lynching: The Red Record of American Literature, 1890-1912* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), Mason Stokes. *The Color of Sex: Whiteness, Heterosexuality and the Fictions of White Supremacy* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).

<sup>52</sup> Fred Hobson, *Tell About the South: The Southern Rage to Explain* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1983).

period felt it necessary to explain Southern culture. The scholar indicates that eight years of Southern endeavors to explain their culture, as well as the successful attempts by adherents of the Lost Cause to change the perception of the American Civil War taken over that period, paved the way for the immense reception that Dixon's fiction enjoyed in the South and in the rest of the country as well. This theory is further reinforced by the noted Southern scholar Charles Reagan Wilson in his study of the Lost Cause, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865–1920*. However, while he explains the background and development of the Lost Cause, he virtually ignores the Redeemer novels, he does mention Thomas Dixon's *Reconstruction Trilogy* briefly examines it.<sup>53</sup> The question remains, why the writings of the Redeemers have been given such short shrift by scholars. The causes for such a state of affairs are numerous, although it stands to reason to hypothesize that the major ones could be that: (a) most of the novels that make up the Klan Kraze/Redeemer phase of the development of white nationalist fiction were not well-known works (also because most of these novels were produced in limited runs or were published locally), (b) Dixon's *Reconstruction Trilogy* overshadows other works, mainly because of the controversy surrounding the first two novels, *The Leopard's Spots* and *The Clansman*, and (c) it seems that by the time academic interests turned to the aftermath of the Reconstruction period in the South, the Redeemer novels and the Klan Kraze were completely forgotten.

Finally, three books of note must be mentioned in this subchapter, namely Gene Baro's *After Appomattox: The Image of the South and Its Fiction, 1865–1900* (1963), James C. Cobb's *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (2005) and Nina Silber's 1993 monograph *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900*.<sup>54</sup> Whereas Baro's edited volume and Cobb's monograph focus exclusively on the South, Silber's work is unique as it examines Northern authors and explores how the North reconciled with the South through the ideology of white supremacy, indicating that the novels written by Northerners were a part of this reconciliation. For his part, Baro focuses on authors who are, or were, well-known, for instance, George Washington Cable, Charles W. Chesnutt, Kate Chopin, Joel Chandler Harris, and Thomas Nelson Page, among others leaving out the Redeemer authors and their works. Cobb's book is

<sup>53</sup> Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865–1920* (Athens, GA: University Press of Georgia, 1980).

<sup>54</sup> Gene Baro [editor], *After Appomattox: The Image of the South in Its Fiction, 1865–1900* (New York: Corinth Books, 1963), James C. Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill, NC: University Press of North Carolina, 1993).

more of a historical narrative and while Thomas Dixon is mentioned and examined, the rest of the Redeemer, like Thomas Nelson Page, or Brimsley Matthews are not studied at all.

Indeed, the issue with most monographs that examine any form of white nationalist fiction is that these monographs are normally written by what could be termed ‘socially active academics’: academics who are actively working towards defeating the ideology of white nationalism. This form of social activism, as it relates to the topic under discussion, provides a blurry picture of why the novels of white nationalism seem to have not disappeared and why the ideology present in them continues to appeal to a particular part of the American white population. While the fact that academics are free to express their opinions in their work is central to the development of knowledge, it is rather difficult to ignore the possibility that some of the ‘socially active academics’ may have created a situation in which the reasons for the persistence of the ideology of American white nationalism continue to be misunderstood, those reasons being frequently obscured by ideologically-colored rhetoric ungrounded in sound methodologies.

#### **1.4 The White Nationalist Right from the early 1900s until the late 1970s in Light of Academic Studies**

The period beginning with the onset of the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and finishing with the publication of *The Turner Diaries* (1978) is sparse with research on American white nationalism, with the exception of numerous studies on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Era KKK. Despite its considerable political power, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Era Klan produced no fiction on the whole, though American novelists of the time did attack the Progressive era reincarnation of the Klan, especially Thomas Dixon who condemned the reincarnation of the Ku Klux Klan in his *The Black Hood* of 1924. The only novel of this period supportive of the Klan was *Harold the Klansman*. Yet, while pro-Klan in tone, this novel is more typical of the cycle of novels that focused on small-town or rural America of the 1920s, and this novel is not white nationalist *per se* because the criteria for what a novel has to have to be considered white nationalist are not met.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Among the many excellent studies on the 2<sup>nd</sup> or Jazz Era Klan are Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), Thomas R. Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth and Decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s* (New York: Ivan R. Dee,

The most important work on this period is by Leo P. Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War* (1983).<sup>56</sup> Ribuffo's study is an excellent introduction to what was known then as the 'hard Protestant Right' through the study of the three leading personalities of the movement, and while only one notable author of fiction, William Dudley Pelley, is examined in the book, the other two figures—Gerald B. Winrod and Gerald L. K. Smith dominated the old 'hard Protestant Right' until the rise of George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party of the early 1960s. Two excellent biographies have been written on Rockwell, namely *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell & the American Nazi Party* by William H. Schmalz and *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* by Frederick J. Simonelli.<sup>57</sup> While Rockwell was not a fiction author, he influenced several future white nationalist novelists, including H. A. Covington and William Pierce, through either their membership in the American Nazi Party itself or in one of the various offshoots that sprouted up after his assassination. Moreover, the various schisms that affected the American Nazi Party after his assassination in 1966, have played a vital role in the attempt by several white separatist groups to call for a cell-like revolutionary structure, one that can withstand the assassination of a main leader and still function on a revolutionary level.

There is one pseudo-white nationalist fiction author who has garnered a biography—William Dudley Pelley, leader of the Silver Shirt Legion—a proto-fascist group of the 1930s. While Ribuffo devoted a chapter to Pelley in his 1983 monograph, Scott Beekman's 2005 study *William Dudley Pelley: A Life in Right-Wing Extremism and the Occult* is the only fully fledged biography of this occult leader and proto-fascist organizer which addresses his writings.<sup>58</sup> Most of Pelley's novels are proto-science fiction or occult-based, not white nationalist because they do not address the issues raised at the beginning of this work, those being race, a defense of the white race from extinction, and an overt advocating of some form of revolution for all whites.

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2011) and Kelly J. Baker, *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK's Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2011). The best book on the Civil Rights Ku Klux Klan is David Cunningham, *Klansville, U.S.A.: The Rise and Fall of the Civil Rights-Era Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). Cunningham mostly focuses on the UKA (United Klans of America) under the leadership of Imperial Wizard Robert M. Shelton and the klaverns in North Carolina, of which there were over 140.

<sup>56</sup> Leo P. Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1983).

<sup>57</sup> William H. Schmalz, *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 2000). Frederick J. Simonelli, *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Urbana, IL: University Press of Illinois, 1999).

<sup>58</sup> Scott Beekman, *William Dudley Pelley: A Life in Right-Wing Extremism and the Occult* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005).

Actually, no white nationalist novels were produced by the various proto-fascist organizations of the period under examination in the 1920s and 1930s, like the Khaki Shirts, Silver Shirts, German-American Bund or the resurgent Klan of the 1920s as they moved in the shadows of American politics in this period. However, several novels were produced that evoked a growing horror and terror—that of the Yellow Peril to which this subchapter now turns.

William F. Wu's *The Yellow Peril: Chinese Americans in American Literature, 1850–1940* (1982) is a superb study on the hysteria surrounding the “wily Orientals” with lurid tales of sex and drugs (the so-called White Slavery novels), warnings of invasion (Dooner's 1888 novel *The Last Days of the Republic*, 1915's *The Fairy Tale of the White Man at the Gates of Sunset*, and 1941's *Sown in the Darkness, A. D. 2000* by William R. Twiford), and the famous Fu Manchu' novels.<sup>59</sup> In his monograph, Wu's examination of how American attitudes towards the Orient changed in the period under examination and his survey is the only one of its kind. More recent studies include *Serial Fu Manchu: The Chinese Supervillain and the Spread of Yellow Peril Ideology* by Ruth Mayer and *The Yellow Peril: An Archive of Anti-Asian Fear*, edited by John Kuo Wei Tchen and Dylan Yeats.<sup>60</sup>

Notably absent from recent scholarship is the first Red Scare, which lasted from the fall of Czarist Russia in 1917 to 1921. Indeed, the only monograph is Robert K. Murray's 1955 study *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919–1920*.<sup>61</sup> His study includes every aspect of the Red Scare except the one that is most important to the topic of this work—fiction. The novels of the first Red Scare are few but important, and have been never been fully examined by scholars. Furthermore, many novels (like the 1929 novel *The Red Napoleon*, as well as the 1941 Black Scare/Red Scare/Yellow Peril novel *Sown in the Darkness, A. D. 2000*) combine several different areas of white nationalism, with a dash of nativism and American jingoism thrown in for good measure. Twiford's novel is the first to mention Jews within the context of the myth of Jews kidnapping white children to be either sacrificed or, as is portrayed in the novel, sold into *de facto* slavery—which may be perceived as a recurrence of the central theme of the white slavery novels of the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Regarding the other novel, *The Red Napoleon*, the only

<sup>59</sup> William F. Wu, *The Yellow Peril: Chinese Americans in American Fiction, 1850-1940* (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1982).

<sup>60</sup> Ruth Mayer, *Serial Fu Manchu: The Chinese Supervillain and the Spread of Yellow Peril Ideology* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2014) and John KuoWei Tchen and Dylan Yeats, *The Yellow Peril: An Archive of Anti-Asian Fear* (New York: University Press of New York, 2014).

<sup>61</sup> Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964). Originally published by the University Press of Minnesota, 1955.

article written about it appeared in the journal *Foreign Policy* and, rather than offering sound academic insight, is rife with sarcastic remarks about the novel's author, the context of the novel and portrays hubris at the 'triumph' of political correctness, diversity and multiculturalism that the novel attacked. The article, written by J. M. Berger provides very little information on the novel, the times that produced it or the author of the work—Floyd Gibbons, the only civilian to have been awarded the Marine Cross for Heroism for his part in saving two Marine Corps soldiers in the Battle of Belleau Wood in 1918.<sup>62</sup> In general, the novels that used the Red Scare, Black Scare and/or Yellow Peril genres were influenced by three polemics—Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race* (1918), Lothrop Stoddard's books *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy* (1920) and his *The Revolt of Civilization: The Rise of the Under Man* (1922). As noted by the only biographer of Madison Grant, Jonathan Spiro:

The names of Grant and Stoddard were naturally linked together by the reading public, which hailed Grant as a prophet and Stoddard the apostle of scientific racism. They were a formidable combination, and they complemented each other perfectly. [...] But while Grant concentrated on the internal threats to the Nordics in America, Stoddard focused on the international situation and the dangers posed by the multiplication of the black and yellow races abroad. [...] Over the years, Stoddard published twenty-two books on world affairs, but his most popular works were the sensationalist tetralogy produced in a rush of creativity in the first half of the 1920s: *The Rising Tide of Color* (1920) (for which Grant wrote the lengthy introduction), *The New World of Islam* (1921), *The Revolt against Civilization* (1922), and *Racial Realities in Europe* (1924). The central theme of these Grant-inspired best sellers was that the Nordic race, which is "always and everywhere ... a race of warriors, sailors, pioneers, and explorers," was on the brink of being inundated by the inferior colored races, and for the usual Grantian reasons: low birthrate, indiscriminate philanthropy, immigration, mongrelization, reversion, and the dysgenic effects of the Great War (which Stoddard called the "White Civil War") (Spiro 2008, 172).

In particular, *The Red Napoleon* and *Sown in the Darkness, A.D. 2000* read like fictional accounts of Grant's and Stoddard's works, as both works have characters who remark that the white race needs to be saved from the "inundating" wave of color.

## **1.5 Present-Day White Nationalist Right (1980–2015) in Light of Current Research**

Current research into the American white nationalist movement has tapered off somewhat from its heyday in the mid-late 1990s. The reasons for this are unclear, despite the fact that the mid-late 1980s saw the rise of a resurgent and more militant KKK, a new white nationalist movement came to the fore in the early 1990s, the militia movement, with two other movements taking up when the militia movement petered out after the Oklahoma City Bombing in 1995—

<sup>62</sup> J. M. Berger, "Mongol Hordes Take Manhattan," *Foreign Policy*, Nov. 21, 2012, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/11/21/mongol-hordes-take-manhattan/> (access: 08.16. 2015).



the white separatist movement and the neo-Confederate movement. At present, scholars appear to have abrogated research into the movement to various nonacademic entities, though academic works on the various aspects of white nationalism have appeared from time to time. Today, the white separatist movement is basically centered in the Pacific Northwest—the states of Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington and Wyoming, with the Neo-Confederate movement concentrated in the states that made up the former Confederacy.

Of the only two studies of the Neo-Confederate movement, Euan Hague, Heidi Beirich and Edward H. Sebesta's *Neo-Confederacy: A Critical Introduction* (2008) and James W. Loewen and Edward H. Sebesta's *The Confederate and Neo-Confederate Reader: The "Great Truth" about the "Lost Cause"* (2010), only the former one features a chapter on literature. Yet, while the chapter—written by Kevin Hicks—examines a few of the older works, it completely ignores the revolutionary titles of Gregory Kay and his *Third Revolution* quartet. Furthermore, only one of the two studies references the leading publication of the Neo-Confederate movement, *Southern Partisan*. While not fiction, this journal was extremely influential in defining the ideology of the neo-Confederate movement and what the movement was fighting for, this idea being echoed in the handful of novels produced by supporters of the movement. While not specifically mentioned in the novels of the neo-Confederacy movement, *Southern Partisan*, through its articles and editorials reinforced the ideology advocated in the novels of the neo-Confederate movement, and, to a certain extent, the white nationalist movement as a whole. Moreover, by the time the above two works had been published, *Southern Partisan* had issued an anthology of what the editors considered its best articles in 1993 and entitled it *So Good A Cause: The First Decade of the Southern Partisan*.<sup>63</sup> Interestingly, while focusing on what they considered to be the 'documents' of the neo-Confederate movement, the editors of *The Confederate and Neo-Confederate Reader* ignored the *Southern Partisan* and any novel associated with the neo-Confederate movement, thus reinforcing the need for the present study.

Besides the first flowering of white nationalist fiction in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, no other period in the history of American literature has produced more white nationalist fiction than the first two decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The election of Bill Clinton in 1992 saw the collapse of the old Christian Right and the rise of a new, 'militant militia' and white separatist

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<sup>63</sup> Oran P. Smith, *So Good A Cause: A Decade of Southern Partisan* (Columbia, SC: Foundation for American Education, 1993).

movements, which had been festering on the fringes of American politics since the early 1980s<sup>64</sup>. The victory of the political correctness movement and various rights movements, first on college campuses, then in American society overall, coupled with changing demographics, led to the rise of white nationalist concerns over the rights of the white majority being ‘trampled on’ by an overbearing Federal government.<sup>65</sup> The white separatist movement grew out of the old, ‘hard’ Christian (Protestant) Right and dovetailed quite nicely with the militia movement in the Great Plains. As with many racist right movements, the old ‘hard’ Christian right, to use Ribuffo’s terminology, and the militia movement in the Great Plains, come from the same milieu—that of the traditional, ultraconservative wing of the American Protestant faith. Both groups took an extremely hard line against communism and socialism in the United States, and both were highly suspicious of federal involvement with enforcing certain aspects of social engineering—the old Protestant Right with enforcement of the Civil Rights Act and *Brown vs. Board of Education*, the militia movement with enforcement of various environmental regulations, bussing and affirmative action.

The first book to explore the explosion of violence by the Great Plains militiamen against various law enforcement agencies was written by a journalist, James Coates. In 1987, he released the work *Armed and Dangerous: The Rise of the Survivalist Right*.<sup>66</sup> Coates’ study, along with *Rural Radicals: From Bacon’s Rebellion to the Oklahoma City Bombing* by Catherine Stock McNichol, could provide the basis for any study of the farm crisis in the Plains states and the resulting rise of the Posse Comitatus and associated militia groups. Other scholars, admittedly,

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<sup>64</sup> Conservatives and the far right view political correctness as a ‘movement’ that wants to destroy American culture and society. In particular, the writings of Richard Rorty, Gramsci, and other postmodernists/politically correct advocates seem to point to a movement to reshape American society in the image of Marxist philosophy as interpreted by the French New Political left—Derrida, Foucault, and other “paragons of virtue and diversity”. Since all of them are Marxists, including the members of the Frankfurt School, as observed by various Conservative commentators, including Stephen R. C. Hicks, author of *Explaining Postmodernism: Skepticism and Socialism from Rousseau to Foucault* (Tempe, AZ: Scholargy, 2004), the far right is particularly suspicious of its usage in history.

<sup>65</sup> See *Flyover Nation: You Can’t Run a Country You’ve Never Been To* by Dana Loesch (New York: Penguin, 2016). For more background on the Farm Crisis of the 1980s, see Osha Gray Davidson, *Broken Heartland: The Rise of America’s Rural Ghetto* (New York: Doubleday, 1991), Brian Mann, *Welcome to the Homeland: A Journey to the Rural Heart of America’s Conservative Revolution* (Hanover, NH: Steerforth Press, 2006), Maryanne Vollers, *Lone Wolf: Eric Rudolph and the Legacy of American Terror* (New York: Harper, 2006), and finally, James Corcoran’s aforementioned work on Gordon Kahl and the Posse Comitatus. See as well, James C. Coates, *Armed and Dangerous: The Rise of the Survivalist Right* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995). Originally published in 1987. Catherine Stock McNichol, *Rural Radicals: From Bacon’s Rebellion to the Oklahoma City Bombing* (New York: Penguin, 1997). Originally published by Cambridge University Press, 1996.

<sup>66</sup> James C. Coates, *Armed and Dangerous: The Rise of the Survivalist Right* (Hill and Wang, 1995). Originally published in 1987. Catherine Stock McNichol, *Rural Radicals: From Bacon’s Rebellion to the Oklahoma City Bombing* (New York: Penguin, 1997). Originally published by Cambridge University Press in 1996.

were slow to catch on to the growing power of both the militia movement and the white separatist movement, but by the late 1990s several new studies (mentioned below) that plotted the course of the movement and the reasons behind it had been published. Both Coates and McNichol do an exacting job of examining the milieu of the rise of the right in the Plains states during the late 1970s and early 1980s. While Coates' work is more of a detailed study of the underground politics and worldview of the Posse Comitatus and associated groups, McNichol takes a broader approach and looks at the roots of rural discontent.

In general, the studies emerging over the past thirty years, from 1984 to 2015, can be divided into several interconnected but independent groups: studies on the militia movement that serve as warnings; monographs on specific events, groups or leaders; and studies that attempt to analyze the roots of the movement. Among the first set of books, many were published after the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, and shed light on the growing discontent of the majority white populations of the Great Plains and Pacific Northwest states regarding the ways in which they feel the federal government has treated them with the most recent eruptions being the 2016 Bundy Ranch standoff over federal land grazing rights and the 2017 Wildlife Refuge Standoff which resulted in the death of Levooy Finicum. The most frequently cited works include Kenneth S. Stern's *A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate* (1996), James Aho's *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism* (1999), and Richard Abanes' *American Militias: Rebellion, Racism and Religion* (1996).<sup>67</sup> Stern's and Abanes' studies both follow the same path, as they track the story of the white supremacist militia movement to warn the American reading public about the dangers of these groups. None of these studies, however, examine any fiction other than the one novel that inspired the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, Pierce's *The Turner Diaries*. Moreover, they only allude to Pierce's work to show how Timothy McVeigh and the other conspirators drew inspiration from the novel while preparing their attack. Indeed, neither Stern nor Abanes examine any of the historical precedents that influenced the formation of the movement, the books that inspired the author of *The Turner Diaries* nor any of the fiction that the movement had produced up to that point. Aho's book is a sociological study on the members of some of the Christian Patriot (militia) groups,

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<sup>67</sup> Kenneth S. Stern, *A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), James A. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1995), paperback edition, Richard Abanes, *American Militias: Rebellion, Racism and Religion* (Downers Grove, IN: InterVarsity Press, 1996).

KKK, neo-Nazi and other assorted organizations in the state of Idaho. As a sociologist, Aho is meticulous in examining the members' socio-economic backgrounds and other factors that motivated them to join the groups under study; however, like most of the researchers cited in this chapter, he does not examine any of the novels produced by the Aryan Nations or associated organizations, though he does examine *The Turner Diaries*, yet the Aryan Nations did publish one novel and distributed various others. Being based in Idaho, the Aryan Nations provided a focal point for the white separatist movement that is actively working for the establishment of a whites-only homeland in the Pacific Northwest, with Covington's aforementioned *Northwest Novels* constituting the major mythos. Admittedly, Aho's and the other books mentioned in this section do not concentrate on novels; however, their exclusive examination of *The Turner Diaries* reveals a one-sided approach to white separatist fiction.

Indeed, while white separatism has been the subject for various studies, however, none of them specifically examine white nationalist fiction within it. The first academic study of the modern white separatist movement in the United States was Betty A. Dobratz and Stephanie L. Shanks-Meile's "*White Power, White Pride!*": *The White Separatist Movement in the United States*.<sup>68</sup> As with many studies of this sort, the monograph provides a satisfactory overview of the white nationalist movement in the United States, with chapters covering gender relationships, historical background, important personalities and groups, etc., but it entirely neglects white nationalist fiction. Focusing on the Pacific Northwest white separatist movement, two books have been produced—David A. Neiwert's *In God's Country: The Patriot Movement and the Pacific Northwest* and 2006's *Aryan Cowboys: White Supremacists and the Search for a New Frontier, 1970-2000* by Evelyn Schlatter.<sup>69</sup> As with other works in this section, the only piece of fiction mentioned in these studies is Pierce's ubiquitous *The Turner Diaries*. While Neiwert had very little fiction to examine mainly because the white separatist movement had not yet really caught on within white nationalist circles, in her study of the *Aryan Cowboys* Schlatter had the opportunity to address at least ten different novels, but ignored them, hence reinforcing the need for the current project. However, one book published in the mid-1990s had an overwhelming impact on the way many scholars looked at the problem of white nationalism in the United

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<sup>68</sup> Betty A. Dobratz and Stephanie Shanks-Meile. "*White Power, White Pride!*": *The White Separatist Movement in the United States* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997).

<sup>69</sup> David A. Neiwert, *In God's Country: The Patriot Movement and the Pacific Northwest* (Seattle, WA: Washington State University Press, 1999), Evelyn A. Schlatter *Aryan Cowboys: White Supremacists and the Search for a New Frontier, 1970-2000* (Austin, TX: University Press of Texas, 2006).

States, namely James Gibson's *Warrior Dreams: Violence and Manhood in Post-Vietnam America*.

In *Warrior Dreams*, Gibson examined men's adventure novels of post-Vietnam America and the gun culture prevalent in rural and small-town America.<sup>70</sup> The book had a tremendous impact on other researchers, as it is documented by the bibliographies of most works on the white nationalist movement published after 1994, and while Gibson studied the pulp paperbacks of a particular genre, namely the men's adventure novels that were published in the post-Vietnam era 1975–1995, to a certain extent his analysis is applicable to the present work. Namely, he examines novels as cultural artifacts that mirror a particular subculture's beliefs and fears. Furthermore, his sociological approach has informed the present work's historical stance in examining the “culture of defeat” though this work expands upon *Warrior Dreams* by taking it into a more revolutionary genre. Taking their cues from Gibson, two authors published books that took a feminist approach to the study of white nationalism, Jessie Daniels' *White Lies: Race, Class, Gender and Sexuality in White Supremacist Discourse* (1997) and Abby L. Ferber's *White Man Falling: Race, Gender and White Supremacy* (1998).<sup>71</sup> While both of those books, along with the Michael Kimmel's 2013 study *Angry White Men: American Masculinity at the End of an Era*, were influenced by Gibson's research, unlike him, they take the approach that the changing demographics have forced white heterosexual men to ‘take a back seat’ in America's political and social life. Therefore, their reaction to this state of affairs might take the form of listening to “rage radio,” but it might also push some to drift into the ranks of the white nationalist/white supremacist/white separatist militia groups. Daniels' book mostly examines the small ‘party’ newspapers that were distributed on the basis of miniscule mailing lists. For her part, Ferber's analysis is based more on third wave feminist theory and Freudian analysis of homoeroticism than is Daniels'; however, neither of the authors analyses any form of white ‘supremacist’ fiction. Furthermore, their analysis of the militia movement within the United States and white nationalism in general lacks a solid grounding in the U.S. history, as in their respective argumentations they both fail to include the importance of the sense of grief, loss and trauma experienced by certain sectors of the white population, in the context of the dilemmas

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<sup>70</sup> James Gibson, *Warrior Dreams: Violence and Manhood in Post-Vietnam America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994).

<sup>71</sup> Jessie Daniels, *White Lies: Race, Class, Gender and Sexuality in White Supremacist Discourse* (New York: Routledge, 1997), Abby L. Ferber, *White Man Falling: Race, Gender and White Supremacy* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999). Paperback edition. Originally published in 1998.

related to some of the already mentioned socially progressive issues. In general, Daniels' and Ferber's books are worthy introductions to the study of white nationalism, if used cautiously: some of their conclusions as to why American white nationalism attracts its followers seem to be overly grounded in feminist theory alone, and hence, in the context of the present work, their explanatory power is limited. Kimmel's study, on the other hand, is an interesting overview of the problems that white men face at the dawn of the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. However, like Daniels and Ferber, Kimmel denounces that with which he disagrees without scrutinizing the historical basis of the belief, though his book is better balanced in dissecting the root psychological causes of the phenomena of the 'angry white male' than either Daniels' or Ferber's. In general, all three books concentrate on the critique of what they see as racist and non-Progressive without examining the roots of the ideology. Kimmel, in particular, disagreeing with everything that appears to define contemporary white nationalist culture—love of guns, taking pleasure in associating exclusively with members of the white race, and advocating more traditional gender relationships—seems to express his own *weltanschauung*, rather than delve into the psychological, cultural and material roots of the phenomena he describes.

As the above overview demonstrates, within the space of modern American white nationalism, the only author who has garnered some scholarly and critical attention is the author of *The Turner Diaries*, William L. Pierce—(nom de plume 'Andrew MacDonald'). Indeed, it seemed that Pierce enjoyed the notoriety and never shunned the opportunity for an interview, as is apparent in 2003's *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America* in which Pierce conducted a lengthy interview with the authors.<sup>72</sup> While basically a collection of interviews, the book offers a section on Pierce, in which the authors provide some insight into his motivation for writing *The Turner Diaries*. The above notwithstanding, the editors do little to provide background material on the development of white nationalism up to the time of writing and fail to sufficiently explain the impact of the novel on other writers.

The only biography of Pierce, *Fame of A Dead Man's Deeds* by Robert S. Griffin, which made its appearance in 2001,<sup>73</sup> tracks the writer's life and work within white nationalist circles. In such a context, creating chapters on *The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter* (Pierce's 1985 'lone wolf'

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<sup>72</sup> Carol M. Swain and Russ Nieli, editors, *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>73</sup> Robert S. Griffin, *Fame of A Dead Man's Deeds: An Up-Close Portrait of White Nationalist William Pierce* (No place of publisher: No Publisher, 2001).

novel), Griffin presents Pierce as one of those writers who served as a conduit for some of the older ideas among the ‘hard Christian Right’ of Pelley, Smith and Winrod as examined by Ribuffo and the ‘new’ white nationalist right of Rockwell and Covington, as analyzed by Leonard Zeskind.

Lastly, the 2009 publication by longtime anti-racist activist and famed researcher Leonard Zeskind *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream* includes several chapters on Pierce.<sup>74</sup> However, for all of Zeskind’s monumental work (the book covers the emergence of the modern American white nationalist movement from the mid-1950s to 2004 in 542 pages), he only examines *The Turner Diaries*. Although more than 20 titles representing the genre had been published between 1990 and 2004, including the first volume of Gregory Kay’s Neo-Confederate revolutionary quartet *The Third Revolution* (2004), Covington’s *Fire and Rain* (2000), *Slow Coming Dark: A Novel of the Age of Clinton* (2000), and *The Hill of the Ravens* (also known as *T. H. O. R.*—2003), along with late Order member David Lane’s *KD Rebel* (2004), Zeskind omits them in his study. Likewise, even though Zeskind classifies Pat Buchanan as a white nationalist, Buchanan is more of a Christian conservative, or, more accurately a conservative American nationalist. If Buchanan is a Christian conservative then Zeskind could have made reference to the two Christian Patriot novels by Larry Burkett—*The Illuminati* (1993) and *The Thor Conspiracy: The Seventy-Hour Countdown to Disaster* (1995), or mentioned the myriad of other pro-Christian and/or anti-establishment novels, such as John Ross’ *Unintended Consequences: A Novel*, which is essentially a pro-2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment ‘guns rights’ novel but chose not to. Such choices aside, it is important to observe Zeskind’s particularly broad definition of white nationalism. For instance, while most political analysts view Buchanan as more of a Christian conservative/American nationalist than a white nationalist, Zeskind’s concept of a ‘white nationalist’ seems to fit anyone to the right of former president Bill Clinton. Arguably, Zeskind’s book paints with too broad of a brush: while Buchanan’s ideas on American exceptionalism and immigration might have raised the ire of the cultural political left, Zeskind’s characterization of Buchanan blurs the historically grounded definition of a ‘white nationalist,’ which, consequently may impede trauma-based, and psychological-based studies of white nationalist literature.

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<sup>74</sup> Leonard Zeskind, *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream* (New York: Farrar and Strauss, 2009).

While extensive reading has been done in the preparation of this work, it mainly rests on six works: David Bennett's aforementioned *The Party of Fear: The American Far Right from the Nativism to the Militia Movement*, *Gods of the Blood: The Pagan Revival and White Separatism* by Mattias Gardell, *Rural Radicals: From Bacon's Rebellion to the Oklahoma City Bombing* by Catherine McNicol Stock, James Gibson's *Warrior Dreams: Violence and Manhood in Post-Vietnam America* and Jim Goad's *The Redneck Manifesto: How Hillbillies, Hicks, and White Trash Became America's Scapegoats*, as well as Jean Pfaelzer's *The Utopian Novel in America, 1886-1896: The Politics of Form*.<sup>75</sup> The above foundation may seem a bit unusual at first glance; however, each of the books serve as a pillar by which the author of the present work has rested his observations upon.

Bennett's work has informed the historical observations, as well as the form that Chapter One has taken. His insights into the machinations of the various incarnations of the Far Right have proven very instructive in providing the historical scaffolding by which the rest of this work rests upon. Bennett's work has proven the most insightful work in explaining the persistence of a particular form of political ideology—fear among the Far Right in the United States. Fear, a primal human emotion has proven extremely resilient in the germination of various political movements on the Far Right of American politics and Bennett's book is exceedingly precise in pointing out the ways in which various groups have feared and used fear as a tactic. "What tied these movements to one tradition was the common vision of alien intruders in the promised land—people who could not be assimilated in the national community because of their religion or ethnicity" (Bennett 1995, 2). The novels that are examined in Chapter Four also echo this sentiment, though their solutions to the problem of non-white immigration might be a bit more drastic than other groups on the Far Right.

Bennett's dispassionate and professional historical analysis is also something that has stimulated the present study on white nationalist fiction. Moreover, Bennett's defense of academic freedom in researching an admittedly sensitive topic encouraged the present author to study the novels of the racist Right; as Bennett states in the Preface to the second edition, "But the extremists of the movements of the Right do deserve a measure of dispassionate attention, not because of services they have rendered America but because they have reflected tensions

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<sup>75</sup> Jim Goad, *The Redneck Manifesto: How Hillbillies, Hicks, and White Trash Became America's Scapegoats* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998), Jean Pfaelzer, *The Utopian Novel in America, 1886–1896: The Politics of Form* (Pittsburgh, PA: University Press of Pittsburgh, 1984).



endemic in the entire population and in the very structure of American life. For all their overbearing languages and grandiose plans, conspiratorial fears and repressive programs, they have been themselves the victims of conflicts and contradictions built into the nature of the society for which they were the self-proclaimed protectors” (Bennett 1995, 6). The contemporary novels of the racist Right do not see themselves as ‘self-proclaimed protectors’ of American society but as trying to secede from multicultural American society and establish a new all-white society. This notion is particularly apparent in the novels by Covington and Gregory Kay—the most revolutionary novels among the white nationalist right.

Gardell’s monumental work on racial paganism has informed the present study’s examination of blood memory and other aspects of white nationalist metaphysical belief. Moreover, his views on the rise of fundamentalist religion as a rebellion against the modern world, as well as his overview of early proto-Nazi metaphysical beliefs and how these beliefs have translated into the American context have shown to be very apt in providing a prism to view the novelists’ use of the motif of various aspects of blood memory and atavistic memory. Gardell’s perception of the main aspects of racist pagan belief underlies many of the assertions in the present study as to the various novels depictions of racist pagan belief.

Racist pagans tend to biologize spirituality. Somehow, gods and goddesses are encoded in the DNA of the descendants of the ancients. Blood is thought to carry memories of the ancient past, and divinities are believed to be genetically engraved upon or to reverberate from deep down within the abyss of the collective subconscious or ‘folk soul’ of a given ethnic or racial group. [...] Mixed blood purportedly mixes up the memories of the ancient past and the engraved divinities of different heathen traditions, resulting in spiritual confusion. Accordingly, each individual needs to find *one* spiritual home (Gardell 2003, 17).

The current white separatist novels are informed by this belief and Gardell has proven quite cognizant of the true heart of rebellion that lies at the center of the white nationalist novel. In referring to the rebellion against modernity that the *völkish* advocates of pre- and post-World War One Austria and Germany represented, Gardell also touches upon American white nationalist authors and their battle against modernity:

A romantic revolt against the ‘ills’ of modern society, industrialization, urbanization, materialism, and rationalism, *völkish* culture yearned for mysteries, irrationality, nature, and heroic legends. Constructing a counterorder by idealizing rural life and inventing traditions of the past, *volksisch* ideologues rejected democracy and egalitarianism, upholding instead the values of hierarchy, nobility, and spirituality. [...] Untainted German blood symbolized the spiritual link with the heathen forefathers and was envisioned as a carrier of ancestral memories harking back to the mythical golden age of national greatness (Gardell 2003, 20).

To reinforce the above thoughts, the 1905 book by Ariosophist Lanz von Liebenfels *Theozoölogie oder die Kunde von den Sodoms-Äfflingen und dem Götter-Elektron* (*Theozoology, or the Science of the Sodomite-Apelings and the Divine Electron*) contains the most expressive of the rebellious thoughts of the period before Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, "Our bodies are scurvy despite all soaps [...] the life of man has never been so miserable as today in spite of all technical achievements. Demonic beast-men oppress us from above, slaughtering without conscience millions of people in murderous wars waged for their own personal gain. Wild beast-men shake the pillars of culture from below [...] Why do you seek a hell in the next world! Is not the hell in which we live and which burns inside us sufficiently dreadful?"<sup>76</sup> This feeling of despair and anger at the modern world has been transmuted into the various novels of both the white nationalist and the TEOTWAWKI genres.

As if to reinforce the findings of James W. Gibson's *Warrior Dreams: Violence and Manhood in Post-Vietnam America*, Gardell shows that myth can be a potent weapon against modernity. Gibson also reinforces this aspect of Gardell's study when he indicated,

Obviously these dreams [of paramilitary battles] represented a flight from the present and a rejection and denial of events of the preceding twenty years. But they also indicated a more profound and severe distress. The whole modern world was damned as unacceptable. Unable to find a rational way to face the tasks of rebuilding society and reinventing themselves, men instead sought refuge in myths from both America's frontier past and ancient times. Indeed, the fundamental narratives that shape paramilitary culture and its New War fantasies are often nothing but reinterpretations or reworkings of archaic warrior myths. [...] These cosmogonic, or creation, myths frequently posit a violent conflict between the good forces of order and the evil forces dedicated to the perpetuation of primordial chaos. After the war in which the gods defeat the evil ones, they establish the 'sacred order,' in which all of the society's most important values are fully embodied. [...] These New War stories about heroic warriors and their evil adversaries are ways of arguing about what is wrong with the modern world and what needs to be done to make society well again (Gibson 1994, 12-13).

Gardell and Gibson are both correct that myth informs both the *völkish* and American paramilitary culture, which also coincides with psychologist Carl Jung's observations about the collective unconscious. Furthermore, Gibson's observation that "[...] myths frequently posit a violent conflict between the good forces of order and the evil forces [...]" show that most of the contemporary white separatist novels could also be interpreted as creation myths, in particular, Covington's *Northwest Novels* and Kay's *Third Revolution* tetralogy.

Stock's work, while small in comparison to Bennett's and Gardell's massive tomes, has proven quite worthy regarding the insight she provides into the history of rural rebellion,

<sup>76</sup> Translated by David Lührssen and quoted in his book, *Hammer of the Gods: The Thule Society and the Birth of Nazism* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2012), 39. Taken from Lanz von Liebenfels, *Theozoölogie oder die Kunde von den Sodoms-Äfflingen und dem Götter-Elektron*, 133.

rebellion that, in one sense is the aim of all white nationalist literature. Her perception as to how rural rebellion has fermented on the fringes of American civilization, whether in the colonial period or in the modern era, is second to none. Unlike more recent works, Stock does not take an ideological stance, preferring to let the rebels speak for themselves as to why they rebelled. Her historical acumen has also informed the ways in which the present work examines the aspect of rebellion, which, when combined with Gardell's insights presented above, have presented a more comprehensive picture of the reasons behind the novelists inclusion of rebellion as a main motif in their novels and the purposes that rebellion serves among the white nationalist subculture. Two of Stock's observations are especially noteworthy as regards the present study. The first concerns the tradition of rural rebellion, "[h]owever shocking, confusing, or contradictory it seems, the recent rise of rural radicalism should not have surprised Americans so much. For the past fifty years, we have blamed most domestic discord on problems associated with urban life, but for hundreds of years-and even in this century-the concerns of rural men and women have also often heated to the boiling point. Rural radicalism is in fact older than the nation itself" (Stock 1997, 4). Since the majority of the population, until relatively recently historically-speaking lived on farms or in small towns, it could be extrapolated that rebellion is as American as apple pie and baseball. Further, Stock perceives five distinct aspects that also enlighten the present work,

Five contexts of rural life help to explain the nature of rural radicalism and, in particular, its contradictory position in conventional American politics. These are: frontier life, class, race, gender, and evangelism. Some of these contexts are shared by rural and urban Americans alike. As a consequence, some grievances expressed by rural people are shared by their city cousins. Only in the countryside, however, do all five factors appear together, reflecting, reinforcing, and transforming one another over time. There they create a special mix of contradictory experiences, impulses, ideologies, and actions ready to boil over into radical protest and collective violence in moments of economic, political, or cultural strain (Stock 1997, 7).

Indeed, and in American white nationalist fiction, particularly the current strain of revolutionary white separatist novels, all five aspects are so crystalized that, taken as a whole, they present a clear alternative to current American society, much the same way that the utopian novels of the 1880s did a century or more before.

Jean Pfaelzer's monograph on utopian American novels of the 1880s was the first book that the present author read that provided a blueprint on to use a genre of novels to provide insight into the worldview of a particular subculture. While not specifically related to white nationalism, though some of the dystopian novels do bolster white nationalist beliefs and informed some of the Yellow Peril and Red Scare novels, Pfaelzer's work inspired chapters

Three and Four. In essence, her observation that, “[i]n fact, these tales had a deeply radical potential that has little to do with their tactics for change or their recipes for an ideal future. Rather, these stories created a disjunction—a space in the mind of the reader—between the familiar present and the imagined future, between history and possibility, between satire and utopia. Yet, as Ernst Bloch suggests, ‘the future is always concealed in that which exists’” (Pfaelzer 1985, 5), concur with the assumptions of the present project.

Along the same lines as Pfaelzer’s monograph, Gibson’s aforementioned *Warrior Dreams* has also proven widely inspiring. His discernments on what he calls the New War culture and its place in American history and society have informed much of the analysis of the white nationalist call for armed resistance, since, according to Gibson, anyone can be a warrior in the New War culture:

Moreover, by separating the warrior from his traditional state-sanctioned occupations-policeman or soldier-the New War culture presented the warrior role as the ideal identity for *all* men. Bankers, professors, factory workers, and postal clerks could all transcend their regular stations in life and prepare for heroic battle against the enemies of society (Gibson 1994, 9).

The above quote also mirrors the reflections of Jung as regarding the archetypes that form the basis of the collective unconscious. By seeing themselves as warriors, ordinary men play into archetypes that, according to Jung, are primordial and unconscious.

The New War culture has also taken on an ethereal quality with the lower classes where apocalyptic visions of the end of the United States and the emergence of the TEOTWAWKI (The End of the World As We Know It) genre, which is itself an outgrowth of the New War culture abounds. According to Gibson, the arrogance of the higher classes towards ‘low brow’ cinema and literature has clouded the all-too-real anxieties, fears, hopes and trepidations of the working class, but specifically working-class white males. As Gibson so brilliantly points out when examining the critical reception of the Rambo films.

Movie critics were particularly disdainful of Stallone’s Rambo films. *Rambo: First Blood, Part 2* was called “narcissistic jingoism” by *The New Yorker* and “hare-brained” by the *Wall Street Journal*,

[...] But in dismissing Rambo so quickly and contemptuously, commentators failed to notice the true significance of the emerging paramilitary culture. They missed the fact that quite a few people were not writing Rambo off as a complete joke; behind the Indian bandana, necklace, and bulging muscles, a new culture hero affirmed such traditional American values as self-reliance, honesty, courage, and concern for fellow citizens. Rambo was a worker and a former enlisted man, not a smooth-talking professional. That so many seemingly well-to-do, sophisticated liberals hated him for both his politics and his uncouthness only added to his glory. Further, in their emphasis on Stallone’s clownishness the commentators failed to see not

only how widespread paramilitary culture had become but also its relation to the historical moment in which it arose (Gibson 1994, 9–10).

Lastly, Gibson is extremely sensitive to the power and purpose of fiction, as a means of underpinning myth and establishing a mythology for the subculture in question. Moreover, his analysis of the New War culture and its attitude towards women and relationships underscores some of white nationalist fiction as concerns the relationship between the sexes:

Feminism was widely experienced by men as a profound threat to their identity. Men had to change, but to what? No one knew for sure what a “good man” was anymore. It is hardly surprising, then, that American men-lacking confidence in the government and the economy, troubled by the changing relations between the sexes, uncertain of their identity or their future-began to *dream*, to fantasize about the powers and features of another kind of man who could retake and reorder the world. And the hero of all these dreams was the paramilitary warrior. In the New War he fights the battles of Vietnam a thousand times, each time winning decisively. Terrorists and drug dealers are blasted into oblivion. Illegal aliens inside the United States and the hordes of non-whites in the Third World are returned by force to their proper place. Women are reveled as dangerous temptresses who have to be mastered, avoided, or terminated (Gibson 1994, 11–12).

Besides the idea of women being ‘dangerous temptresses’ all of Gibson’s comments can be applied to white nationalist fiction, therefore, many of his ideas have stimulated the analysis present in the text.

Along the same lines as *Warrior Dreams*, Jim Goad’s *Redneck Manifesto*, while not an academic text *per se* provided first-hand insight into the rebellious streak that is present within the underclass of working whites, so-called ‘white trash.’ Goad’s book, “A furious, profane, smart and hilariously smart-aleck defense of working-class white culture,” according to one critic provided the theoretical inspiration for the exploration of trauma and shame that is present in Chapter Three (Goad, *The Redneck Manifesto*, back cover). Along with Greg Gutfeld’s *Not Cool: The Hipster Elite and Their War on You*, *The Redneck Manifesto*, while so far ignored by scholars of class and race in America, has proven very insightful and cutting edge in its analysis of the current verbal civil war being waged between white liberals and white conservatives for the soul of the nation.

In the opening chapter, Goad vividly deduces the social position of the contemporary working-class white, a position that creates, inspires and simultaneously, reinforces white nationalist fiction, “These days, we hardly ever see the redneck as anything *but* a caricature. A whole vein of human experience, of potential literature, is dismissed as a joke, much as America’s popular notions of black culture were relegated to lawn jockeys and Sambo caricatures a generation or two ago. The redneck is the only cardboard figure political left

standing in our ethnic shooting gallery. All the other targets have been quietly removed in deference to unwritten laws of cultural sensitivity” (Goad 1998, 16). Indeed, one of Goad’s main points is that the assault on white culture by the political left creates a situation where the white working-class will inevitably revolt against those who they have perceived as attacking them:

To justify the ideological *Anschluss* against white trash, one would have to establish that hillbillies wield an unholy degree of power. As political leftists have argued for years, the only true racists are people with the power to systematically to oppress others. And this is where the alt-pundits and lib-babblers fail in their assault on rednecks. They speak of white trash and white privilege as if the terms were interchangeable. Because most corporate executives are white males, they mistakenly conclude that most white males are corporate executives. [...] Rednecks are portrayed as the embodiment of white power, when the only time they’re likely to encounter a powerful white man is when the boss barks at them down at the factory (Goad 1998, 23).

The same sentiments and ideological essence can be found in all of the novels analyzed in Chapter Four, hence Goad’s observations on redneck culture underpin the analysis regarding not only the culture of defeat but also the feelings of frustration and humiliation that American white nationalists express in their writing.

## 1.6 American White Nationalism in Academic Reception: A Recapitulation

As can be seen from the above, the research on white nationalism in general is voluminous while research on white nationalist fiction has been limited to two authors of the novels of the white nationalist right, Thomas Dixon and William Pierce. This is not to downplay the importance of these two authors, as Dixon and Pierce have proven to be highly, albeit notoriously, influential: one stirred the rebirth the Ku Klux Klan (Dixon), while the other’s work inspired acts of terror by members of the racial right and 2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment right, The Order and Timothy McVeigh, respectively.

However, the lack of research on white nationalist fiction is what this dissertation sets out to correct. It may appear that the novels lack depth for all their talk of conspiracies, different races, ‘Jews,’ and revolution, and that assessment by scholars has allowed the genre to develop and, to a certain extent, flourish in the underground of American fringe politics. Admittedly, it is hard to gauge how socially proactive a novel or work of fiction might be, although there have been some novels that have spurred political action: the myth of Harriet Beecher’s Stowe’s novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* starting the American Civil War is one case in point, as is the fact that Upton

Sinclair's Gilded Age novel *The Jungle* prompted such public outrage at the abuses of Chicago slaughterhouses that it led in part to the establishment of the FDA—Food and Drug Administration. Finally, there can be no doubt that Timothy McVeigh and The Order were both inspired by *The Turner Diaries*, which led to the deaths of many. Therefore, the time of scholars sticking their heads in the sand and pretending that these novels do not exist, or the argument that they are not influential within the white nationalist milieu is over.

These novels must be examined and mechanisms underlying their emergence and their cultural productivity must be explored, particularly as the United States systematically moves from a 'majority white' country to a 'majority minority' country. Furthermore, comprehending "simultaneously what moves both the individual and the mass," works of literature, especially if studied through the prism of the concept of the culture of defeat and trauma theory may refract the most light on the subculture from which it arose: a culture full of contradictions, yet ominously consistent in its literary messages. Preaching a message of racial solidarity, these novels impart a warning that the failure to heed the message will result in the "extermination of the white race" in the United States; born out of communal trauma—they speak to the community; sublimating fears, they provide a vent for the pent up emotions impossible to express either in language (controlled by the norms of the public debate) or in action (controlled by the law). However, if the listener is an 'outsider,' the message will fall on deaf ears: if those listening do not belong to the same white nationalist community of values, they will not share in the common collective memory of trauma, and—unlike the white nationalists themselves—will not understand the consequences of the experience of life "in the acute fear of the void, the never-satiated lust for certainty, paranoiac mythologies of conspiracy and the frantic search for ever-elusive identity" (qtd. in Ferber 1999, 63). Aspiring to fill some of the empty spaces in the broad map of knowledge, this work now turns to the fundamentals of the culture of defeat, whose central tenets take root in trauma theory, in search of a tool allowing one to address the literary production of the white nationalist community as a phenomenon simultaneously arising from, and conditioning the perpetuation of, the white nationalist metanarrative, a controversial antidote to shame, pain and fear.

## 2. American White Nationalism and the Theory of Cultural Defeat

*It is the average man, with his 'normal' racism and fantasies; whose behavior will give the key to the deeper meanings of racism. For, if personality and culture are concurrent, then it is the 'normal' man's personality which most accurately mirrors the psychohistory of his culture (Kovel 1971, 45).*

*The greatest obstacle to creating a useable past is the existence of trauma. Trauma may also be what gives the greatest urgency of this task because it may seem that we cannot go on living without some way of 'integrating the traumatic moment with the rest of our lives' (Roth 1995, 10).*

*"The past tempts us, the present confuses us, the future frightens us and our lives slip away moment by moment lost in that vast terrible in between."*<sup>77</sup>

Since this work invokes studies analyzing history from a psychological perspective, a few words about the history of such approaches and an explanation of how the present study differs from previous studies that have used the same methodology are necessary. In general, the modern use of 'psychohistory' started in the late 1950s when the new social historians started to look for ways of adapting psychological theories to the study of history. Overall, the definition of psychohistory by Jacques Szaluta in his *Psychohistory: Theory and Practice* will suffice,

To give it its fundamental definition, psychohistory is the application of psychology, in its broadest sense, or psychoanalysis in a specific sense, to the study of the past, of history. The benefit and the promise of the application of psychoanalysis to the study of history are that it enriches our understanding of the dynamics of the past, adding new dimensions to our perspective of historical processes (Szaluta, 2001, 1).<sup>78</sup>

However, it was not until the late 1960s that psychohistory in the United States took hold among historians as a new methodological tool to use in the practice of their craft. Some of the early proponents, Erik Erikson, Bruce Mazlish and Lloyd deMause used mostly Freudian theories of early childhood development to interrogate historical personages and, later, events, though both Erikson and Mazlish also examined groups. Indeed, the influential *Journal of Psychohistory*

<sup>77</sup> Actor Turhan Bey as Centauri Emperor Turhan (the character was unnamed in this episode but named in a later episode of the series in honor of the actor), *Babylon 5*, season 2, episode 4, entitled "The Coming of Shadows," original air date February 1, 1995. This episode won the 1996 Hugo Award for Best Dramatic Presentation. J. Michael Straczynski wrote the screenplay for this episode.

<sup>78</sup> Jacques Szaluta, *Psychohistory: Theory and Practice* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999).



started its publishing career as *The Journal of Childhood and Psychohistory*, so important did editor deMause think that Freud's insights into early childhood were.

This work, on the other hand, takes psychohistory as a starting point and applies group psychology and trauma theory along the lines of the recent study edited by Jeffrey C. Alexander et al, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*.<sup>79</sup> By applying cultural trauma, as articulated by the theories of Wolfgang Schivelbusch, and examining the collective identity of white nationalists as expressed through their literature, this work departs from traditional psychohistory, which normally examines the individual, and focuses more on a collective group, and their fears, hopes, and dreams as conveyed through their writing.

This focus on the group is not new in psychohistory; Wilhelm Reich was one of the first to use the methods of psychology to examine the early formation of the Nazi Party in Germany and Italian Fascists in his 1933 study *Die Massenpsychologie des Faschismus* (*The Mass Psychology of Fascism*). Joel Kovel also examined the psychological basis of American white racism in his 1974 study, *The Psychohistory of White Racism*, and Dominick LaCapra has analysed the transmission of the Holocaust in his 2001 study *Writing History, Writing Trauma*. However, Robert Lifton's series of books on the concentration camps of the Third Reich and the perpetrators of the Holocaust are among the most influential practical psychohistory books, at least among historians.<sup>80</sup> Undeniably, other historians and literary scholars have been influenced by psychohistory and/or have used various psychological theories from Freud, Jung, Lacan and others in their work and there are various offshoots of psychohistory, such as psycho-biography and psycho-geography; however, this work takes the stance that the study of a group through its dreams and fantasies, as expressed in its fiction, can be of invaluable worth in understanding that group more than studying the individuals or leaders that comprise the group.

It is acknowledged that the theories of Sigmund Freud have been important in the care of individual patients; however, this work is concerned with the psychological dynamics of the group, hence the theories of Carl Jung, specifically as regards the collective unconscious are more important. As Jung states,

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<sup>79</sup> Jeffrey C. Alexander, et al, editors, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004).

<sup>80</sup> Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), Michael S. Roth, and *The Ironist's Cage: Memory, Trauma, and the Construction of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

In addition to our immediate consciousness, which is of a thoroughly personal nature and which we believe to be only the empirical psyche (even if we tack on the personal unconscious as an appendix), there exists a second psychic system of a collective, universal, and personal nature which is identical in all individuals. This collective unconscious does not develop individually but is inherited. It consists of pre-existent forms, the archetypes, which can only be conscious secondarily and which give definite form to certain psychic contents (Jung, “Collective Unconscious” 1998, 99).

From this point, this work draws a reference to the idea of blood memory as part of Jung’s theory of the collective unconscious. In fact, much of white nationalist fiction seems to have taken his theories and extrapolated them, though, in place of ‘all individuals,’ the authors of the novels examined in Chapter Four would say ‘all whites/Aryans.’ He also alludes to the idea that the instincts are analogous to the archetypes; this relationship is so close in fact that Jung proposes that archetypes are “the unconscious images of the instincts themselves, in other words that they are *patterns of instinctual behavior*” (Jung, “Collective Unconscious” 1998, 100—italics in the original). If that is the case, then it could be argued that the archetype of the hero, so ubiquitous in white nationalist fiction, is an unconscious representation of the protector. While consciously, the hero is the protector or savior of the race, he/she, by sacrificing him/herself represents the older adult who saves the child from an abusive parent.

Jung also continues with an explanation of the theory of the collective unconscious by pointing out the “tremendous powers that lie hidden in the mythological and religious sphere in man,” which makes the idea and significance seem less mystical and, therefore, more important. He continues,

Today you can judge better than you could twenty years ago the nature of the forces involved. Can we not see how a whole nation is reviving an archaic symbol [the swastika], yes, even archaic religious forms, and how mass emotion is influencing and revolutionizing the life of the individual in a catastrophic manner? The man of the past is alive in us today to a degree undreamt of before the war [World War One], and in the last analysis what is the fate of great nations but a summation of the psychic changes in individuals? (Jung, “Collective Unconscious” 1998, 101–102).

Admittedly, there are other reasons for the appeal of the Nazi Party to the average German of the 1920s and 1930s, but what is important here is that Jung seems to be arguing that the veneer of civilization is only that, a veneer, what lies deeper is of more importance particularly in reference to the present work, as the novels examined in Chapter Four are also rebellions against the present world and appeal to the ‘shadow’ as Jung called it. As will be seen further, sociologist Stjepan G. Meštrović offers a similar explanation in his 1997 monograph *The Barbarian Temperament* as examined briefly below.

Jung also answers the question of how the archetype is triggered, which also reflects the idea of the triggering of blood memory in the novels in Chapter Four. “When a situation occurs which corresponds to a given archetype, that archetype becomes activated and a compulsiveness appears, which, like an instinctual drive, gains its way against all reason and will, or else produces a conflict of pathological dimensions, that is to say, a neurosis” (Jung, “Collective Unconscious” 1998, 102). The previous quote mirrors the generating of blood memory that is described in various places within all contemporary white nationalist novels, and some of the novels before the publication of *The Turner Diaries*, as the activation of blood memory occurs under times of extreme stress –combat, most particularly. Since the expression of archetypes is analogous to instincts, one instinct, the survival instinct seems to be the most common triggering device that activates blood memory. Since this initiation of blood memory occurs under times of extreme stress for the individual, could the same happen to societies or groups? Jung seems to believe so,

There is no lunacy people under the domination of an archetype will not fall a prey to. If thirty years ago anyone had dared to predict that our psychological development was tending towards a revival of the medieval persecutions of the Jews, that Europe would again tremble before the Roman fasces and the tramp of legions, that people would once more give the Roman salute, as two thousand years ago, and that instead of the Christian Cross an archaic swastika would lure onward millions of warriors ready for death—why, that man would have been hooted at as a mystical fool. And today? Surprising as it may seem, all this absurdity is a horrible reality. Private life, private aetiologies, and private neuroses have become almost a fiction in the world of today. The man of the past who lived in a world of archaic “representations collectives” has risen again into very visible and painfully real life, and this not only in a few unbalanced individuals but in many millions of people (Jung, “Collective Unconscious” 1998, 102).

Interestingly and in a different way, Archibald Hanna reflects the above comment when he stated in his *A Mirror for the Nation: An Annotated Bibliography of American Social Fiction, 1901-1950*, “The bestseller is more apt to mirror the surface values and mores of its time and place than the profound analysis of a great writer whose themes are universal. Today’s crank or fanatic may be the herald of tomorrow’s great cause” (Hanna 1985, x). Undeniably, Adolf Hitler was considered a ‘crank and fanatic’ by some of those who met him in the 1920s, as most people would write off the authors of the works under discussion in the present work as fanatics and kooks. However, their writings mirror the fears and hopes of an important and historically violent group.

Whereas modern American white nationalism has proven to be violent, its ideology has roots grounded in the defeat of the Confederacy and the rise of progressive political thought in the first decade of the 1900s. Furthermore, as a rebellion against current sensibilities American

white nationalism came about as a reaction against the civil rights movement and the loosening of traditional morality in the mid-late 1960s. As a final point, it must be remembered that American white nationalism has been influenced by early American nativism, the defeat of the Confederate South, the Jazz-era Klan, the defeat of Nazi Germany and the victory of the various civil rights movements that have restructured American society in the last fifty years. The history of this loosening of morality and the realignment of morality needs to be explored to better understand how and in what ways American white nationalists are both regressive and rebellious.

From the end of Reconstruction in 1878 to the *Brown v. Board* decision in 1954, the culture of the United States could justly be called ‘Christian’ and ‘white.’ This is not to say that American culture during this period was exclusively white and/or Christian, far from it, however, the culture operated within certain limits which explains why Jazz, the Beats (who were influenced by the Jazz of the late 1940s and 1950s), and early rock n’ roll produced horror and suspicion among the various entrenched power structures at their emergence.<sup>81</sup> Admittedly, Jazz found its expression in the speakeasies of the 1920s of the major cities, while the Beats and early rock n’ roll appealed to bored middle-class white teenagers, as rap/hip-hop, and heavy metal would generations later. In essence, these movements were rebellions against the middle-class mores and values of the prevailing culture.<sup>82</sup> The fractures that afflict the current political and social structures in the United States can be traced to the rise of identity politics, which grew out of the cultural awareness rebellion at the teaching of Eurocentric courses at universities in the mid-late 1960s. Since the Baby Boom generation was influenced by the Beats and adopted certain ideas about the advantages of cultural awareness and the meaning of freedom, it has been justly argued that the tenured radicals of the university system were the first ones to institute a

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<sup>81</sup> Truman Capote’s famous quip about Jack Kerouac’s writing, “That’s not writing, that’s typing.” is an example of the attitude of most ‘established’ authors of the period. In the 1920s, Jazz was only popular in the major cities, which only contained a small proportion of the American population, with most Americans of the period living in smaller cities or towns, where music was normally heard in church or on the radio, which mostly played non-Jazz songs. For more on the Beats, see Bill Morgan, *The Typewriter Is Holy: The Complete Uncensored History of the Beat Generation* (New York: Free Press, 2010).

<sup>82</sup> For more on this idea, see *The Rebellion against Victorianism: The Impetus for Cultural Change in 1920s America* by Stanley Coben (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). For the popularity of rap among white youth, see *Other People’s Property: A Shadow History of Hip-Hop in White America* by Jason Tanz (New York: Bloomsbury, 2007), for a criticism of heavy metal, see Linda Martin and Kerry Segrave, *Anti-Rock: The Opposition to Rock N Roll* (New York: The Perseus Books Group, 2000), for heavy metal’s influence on rebellion, see Peter Bebergal, *Season of the Witch: How the Occult Saved Rock and Roll* (New York: Tracher, 2014), for the alienation of white youth in the suburbs, see *Generation Me: Why Today’s Young Americans Are More Confident, Assertive, Entitled-and More Miserable Than Ever Before* by Jean M. Twenge (New York: Free Press, 2006)

form of identity politics.<sup>83</sup> Indeed, it has been argued that the current pontification of multiculturalism and diversity by the political left-wing of the Democratic Party has sounded the death knell to the virtues of the melting pot and heralded the age of identity politics, with its various schisms and factions.<sup>84</sup> The United States at present seems to be almost as fractured as it was on the eve of the American Civil War, as has been pointed out by various pundits, scholars and commentators. While youth rebellion, it seems, started in the 1950s and accelerated in the late 1960s with the emergence of a vast counterculture; the nascent white nationalist movement also emerged in this period as a counter to the counterculture. As a result, the white nationalist movement fits in with other forms of the power movements of the late 1960s—Red Power (AIM—the American Indian Movement), Black Power (the Black Panthers and others) and Brown Power (La Raza Unida and others).<sup>85</sup>

In the United States, many of the ideas advocated by current white nationalists would have been considered mainstream until fairly recently, historically speaking. It is only within the past sixty years or so that the racial attitudes promoted by American white nationalists have become fringe. While the American white nationalist movement has been studied and its actions, ideologies and leading personalities examined, no scholar has attempted a thorough reading of the novels produced by ‘the Movement’ nor attempted to explain the production of such writings through the prism of collective trauma or the culture of defeat as this work in general and this chapter specifically sets forth to do.

Furthermore, many of the theories posited by current modernist and postmodernist critical theorists do not explain the persistence in and indeed popularity of certain themes that constantly inform white nationalist literature, such as heroism, redemption, blood memory/racial

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<sup>83</sup> See David Horowitz, *Indoctrination U.: The Political left's War on Academic Freedom* (New York: Encounter Books, 2007), *Tenured Radicals: How Politics Has Corrupted Our Higher Education* by Roger Kimball (New York: Harper Collins, 1991) and Ben Shapiro, *Brainwashed: How Universities Indoctrinate America's Youth* (New York: Thomas Nelson, 2004).

<sup>84</sup> See Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on A Multicultural Society, Revised and Updated Edition* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1998), Samuel P. Huntington, *Who Are We?: Challenges to America's National Identity* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005) and *The Twilight of Common Dreams: Why America Is Wracked by Culture Wars* by Todd Gitlin (New York: Holt Paperbacks, 1996).

<sup>85</sup> For information on the American Indian Movement, see *Like a Hurricane: The American Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* by Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior (The New Press, 1996) and Kenneth S. Stern, *Loud Hawk: The United States versus the American Indian Movement* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1994). For the rise of Black Power, see Peniel E. Joseph, *Waiting 'Til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power in America* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. Publishers, 2007) and Joshua Bloom, *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party* (Berkeley, CA: University of CA Press, 2014). For the rise of ‘Brown’ power, see *Chicano Power: The Emergence of Mexican America* by Tony Castro (No place of publisher: iUniverse, 2013).

remembrance, and revolution. Indeed as explained by Stjepan G. Meštrović in *The Barbarian Temperament: Towards a Postmodern Theory*:

Critical theory's concept of mass society is currently passé because it cannot account for the simultaneous existence of individualism as well as mass conformity in modern societies. Thus, some postmodernists hope that the overthrow of oppressive narratives will liberate the individual and lead to tolerance. This is wishful thinking that fails completely to account for the hatred and sadism sometimes exhibited by unrestrained individuals (Meštrović 1993, xvii).

Taking the above quote as a starting point, this study works towards a new theory that takes into account the 'hatred' and 'sadism' mentioned above. Of course, this 'hatred' and 'sadism' is only present within the novels; however, it must be remembered that *The Turner Diaries* inspired Timothy McVeigh and The Order in their actions. While it may be argued by some scholars that the racist right is a culturally conservative movement, and indeed in many ways it is, it is also culturally revolutionary in that it completely rejects every aspect of current American culture and society, including the American dream of constant consumption and production and the dream of multiculturalism. It is this dichotomy that makes this project unique and necessary, as mass immigration to white countries, including the United States, is capable of producing a violent backlash against, not only the immigrants themselves, but also against the cultural and political elites that are advocating multicultural and diverse societies. This backlash at present can be viewed in the overwhelming support that Donald Trump is receiving among whites in the United States and the continuing publication of white nationalist fiction of various stripes.

The goal of this chapter is to work out a theoretical prism to examine the radical/reactionary novels of the right—not only the racist right but also those of the Christian Patriot, Tea Party, Constitutionalist and America Collapsed/Post-Apocalyptic/TEOTWAWKI genres. Specifically, this theory proposes that the far right, whether racist or Christian Patriot is experiencing massive cultural trauma and simultaneously, going through the several stages of Wolfgang Schivelbusch's culture of defeat model that applies to nations that have been defeated. In applying Schivelbusch's ideas, along with several theories from trauma studies, this work is unique. Moreover, it employs several other theories related to cultural trauma, including psychohistory, in particular those ideas related to enemies, humiliation and shame, and theories regarding the transmission of historical memory.

The aforementioned culture of defeat theory of Schivelbusch is examined in subchapter one. His ideas are of overriding importance for understanding the mentality and *weltanschauung*/

worldview of the majority of American white nationalists, including the authors of the novels under examination in Chapter Four. Overall, Schivelbusch's study is an often overlooked aspect of understanding of the right-wing's backlash against various socially progressive ideas, from gay marriage, the controversy over the remembrance of the Confederacy and its associated symbols, immigration, abortion, and other issues. The cultural right's perceived losses on social issues, especially from the racist/white nationalist perspective buttresses the perception of itself as a persecuted minority and harkens back to the defeated Confederacy and many ex-Confederates' assertions at 'Yankee'/Freedmen/Radical 'Black' Republican persecution during Reconstruction. It is this perception that is of prime significance in understanding Schivelbusch's concepts and how they relate to white nationalist fiction. Indeed, as Schivelbusch stated, "Since nations shape, experience and judge their wars, their defeats, and their heroes, traitors and dissidents according to the models set out in their great epics, the connections between these fictional narratives and historical reality merit close attention" (Schivelbusch 2003, 15). The novels under examination, whether neo-Confederate, white separatist/white revolutionary or white reactionary (novels that skewer political correctness on the petard of ludicrousness and sarcasm) share a unique historical perspective as regards the white 'race' in the United States. Furthermore, as echoed by Schivelbusch, this work asserts that these novels also posit a particular vision of the white man and white woman revolutionary, as these revolutionaries are pictured in the novels as demigods and demigoddesses in the white nationalist milieu, those select few who have the courage and the will to make their vision of the future become a reality, thus breaking the bonds of mere mortality and transcending to the realm of the legendary Nordic gods. In essence, the more modern novels create a myth that harkens back to the Redeemer/Klan Apologia novels of the post-Reconstruction South, echoing Schivelbusch's assertion that "What neurosis is to the individual, the creation of myths is to the collective. [...]—the Lost Cause (of the post-Civil War South)—deny that the nation has been defeated and postpone the settling of accounts [...] to an indefinite, messianic future" (Schivelbusch 2003, 26). The novels examined in this work posit various views of this 'indefinite, messianic future'.

Indeed, within white nationalist fiction, it appears that perception is more important than reality. This is no more obvious than in subchapter two where collective trauma theory and its accompanying ideas are presented and examined. Collective trauma theory has grown out of Holocaust Studies to encompass a new branch of social psychology, literary theory, and historical

research. While it is related to Schivelbusch's theories on defeat, collective trauma theory takes a slightly different approach, examining a society's trauma and the ways in which memory, whether the trauma is man-made, i.e. war, or the remembrance of a natural disaster, i.e. tsunami, earthquake, etc. carry over into culture and the ways in which the trauma is expressed, the 'actors' that express or interpret the trauma for the 'audience' and how the 'audience' reacts to the expression of trauma. Furthermore, imagination plays the central role in defining how a group will react to any given perceived threat or indeed, trauma. As stated in *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* "Imagination informs trauma construction just as much when the reference is to something that has actually occurred as to something that has not. It is only through the imaginative process of representation that actors have the sense of experience" (Alexander et al 2004, 8). In essence, the fiction of the right, in particular the racist right, brings to the fore certain imagined slights and losses. These losses, while real for white nationalists, may appear banal to the casual observer but it is the feeling of the loss of 'what might have been, what is, and what forever will be' and the accompanying feeling of betrayal or being cheated out of 'their' birthright that is most important.<sup>86</sup> Undeniably, there is a current of victimization that runs through most white nationalist and TEOTWAWKI novels. As Kevin Hicks states in Chapter Eight of *Neo-Confederacy: A Critical Introduction*, 'Literature and Neo-Confederacy': "What stands out in these contemporary narratives is a pervading sense of Southern victimization. Heritage, tradition, culture, in fact all that is of real value in the world, is shown as being destroyed by the relentless forces of capitalism, consumerism, and liberalism" (Hague et al 2008, 243). This feeling of victimization and the denigration of values is prevalent throughout all white nationalist writing, while Hicks's comments were directed mainly at neo-Confederate novels, white nationalist novels in general, are permeated with feelings of victimization. The reasons for this are obvious when one examines the values that popular culture venerates, at least from a white nationalist perspective, miscegenation, feminism, liberalism, materialism, Communism/socialism (in the white nationalist mindset these ideas are one in the same, unless

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<sup>86</sup> 'What was, what everywhere, and what by all, is held to be true' was the slogan of the Reconstruction Klan as mentioned in Mrs. S. E. F. Rose's account of the Reconstruction Klan and which was also printed on the banner of the Reconstruction Klan. S. E. F. Rose, *The Ku Klux Klan or The Invisible Empire* (New Orleans: L. Graham Co., Ltd., 1914), 39. In Latin, the motto read: *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*. Neither the Reconstruction nor the Progressive Era Klan used the Confederate battle flag, aka the 'Rebel' flag, though it was used by the Civil Rights-era Klan and more recent Klan groups, particularly the early 1980s 'militant' Klan.



the author in question is an American Nazi, like H. A. Covington or David Lane), and the heroes that are promoted by mass culture, such as black entertainment and sports stars.

The stances of psychohistory pertaining to group psychodynamics and white racism are examined in the third subchapter, with various themes, such as redemption/prodigalism, cosmic enlightenment, and rebellion/revolution, along with a particular view of the historical process being the most prominent aspects that are explored. These characteristics express and reinforce the trauma felt by white nationalists at having lost the various culture wars that they feel have been waged against the white race in the United States since 1861 or even before, depending on the author. Moreover, American conservatives, let alone white nationalists feel that ‘their’ country has abandoned them in favor of progressively more radical cultural and social reforms, in essence, while the forces of capitalism won the Cold War, the forces of anti-white communism have won the culture wars and turned the United States into a:

“[...] progressive, socialist mirror of the former Soviet Union, complete with secret police—the FBI and DHS [Department of Homeland Security], laws against speaking out against minorities and the ‘stirring up’ of white nationalist sentiments—so called ‘thought crimes.’ I have been forced to face the fact that European-Americans are discriminated against by the very people who are paid to protect our civil rights. It is clear Whites must now face the threats, emotional extortion, racial intimidation and community blackballing that occurs when we form race-based groups. We have no other choice but to face the fact that our civil rights are being violated under the guise of equality and tolerance. [...] The current civil rights regime is made up of anti-White hatemongers bent on racial revenge—who make a whole lot of money reinforcing (through selective outrage) the stereotype that Whites are the only race that can hate, and the only race exempt from victimhood ” (Angry White Female 2013, 13, 14).

While the expression of this malaise of defeat among conservatives, traditionalists, and white nationalists is to be seen mostly on blogs, essays, Internet forums, music or talk radio, novels have also been written that foresee a paralyzing collapse of the United States and a subsequent rebirth of freedom, with the accompanying “day of the rope” in which all ‘traitors’ to the white race, etc. are executed or incarcerated. This rebirth of freedom will be free of the various political leftist/progressive social engineering that the right perceives to be strangling American freedom and that white nationalists believe is destroying the white race.

As asserted by Schivelbusch, “The myth of Troy as both an end and a new beginning is one of the many expressions of the ancient idea, common to all the world’s great cultures, that war, death and rebirth are cyclically linked” (Schivelbusch 2003, 2). This idea of cyclical rebirth is often remarked upon by rightists of various stripes who echo Founding Father Thomas Jefferson, who once remarked that “The tree of liberty must sometimes be nourished with the

blood of tyrants and patriots.”<sup>87</sup> For many rightists, the time has come for another American Revolution. The reason that this idea has taken hold of certain parts of the white American psyche has more to do with the perception that ‘their’ country is not ‘theirs’ anymore, more than any lost sense of entitlement or white privilege, if either of those two ideas have ever existed in the United States in the form that many progressives state they have. Moreover, many white nationalists see themselves as the only voices crying in the wilderness of what has become a barbaric society that revels in perversity and materialism. In that sense, they see themselves as the inheritors of the Lost Cause and ‘Cavalier’ tradition of the Confederacy, a term itself that “made explicit reference to the civil war in sixteenth-century England. Just as the royalist Cavaliers had defended a higher culture against the attacks of the Puritan Roundheads, the Cavalier South was now taking a stand against the Yankee Roundhead North” (Schivelbusch 2003, 47).

As will be shown at the end of this chapter, white nationalists believe and show through their writings that they are trying to stem the tide, as they view it, of humanity’s slide into barbarism, unimpeded hedonism, and perversion, thus further separating Western mankind from God. Since God created the races, as white nationalism asserts, it is an abomination for man to engage in homosexuality and miscegenation, as those two acts involve not only an exchange of bodily fluids but can pollute one’s blood, making one less purely white. In that sense, Abby Ferber’s assertion that white nationalism is “obsessed” with interracial sexuality is correct; however, she misreads the intentions of the writers that she examines. The most revealing quote by Ferber needs to be lengthily quoted as it is typical of many researchers of the far/racist right and their misreading of what current American white nationalists believe and teach:

In white supremacist discourse, whiteness is elaborated and defended because it is perceived to be threatened, [...] What took me by surprise, however, was the way in which this threat was almost exclusively articulated as the threat of interracial sexuality. It is an understatement to claim that white supremacy is obsessed with interracial sexuality. Far more than a lurid preoccupation, the obsession with interracial sexuality is part of the process of boundary maintenance essential to the construction of race and gender identity (Ferber 1999, 5).

And further, “If race and gender are social constructs, racialized, gendered bodies do not exist outside discourse” (Ferber 1999, 7). These two quotes underline a complete misreading of what and how contemporary American white nationalism and its counterparts in Europe examine

<sup>87</sup> Thomas Jefferson’s letter to William Stephens Smith dated November 13, 1787 and written in Paris. The actual quote is “The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure.” <http://tjrs.monicello.org/letter/100>, also published in the papers of Thomas Jefferson, volume 12, pages 355-357.

through the situation of race. To a white nationalist, gender and race are not ‘social constructs’ but God-ordained or ‘fate ordained’ and there is a hierarchy of races, as has been articulated elsewhere. David Tate, an Order member and self-described Christian Separatist described the philosophy of ‘race as a God-ordained construct’ in his essay “What God Intended”:

Christian Separatists believe in preserving the natural world order that God called good after He made it. We can never remake our race once it is lost,[...] Only separation can accomplish this. This is not hatred. This is common sense. I love the world God made, not the messes mankind makes of it. God made the races, meaning that if separate pure original races were made by God and He called them good in the beginning, then that is what He intended. To destroy what God called good by committing genocide by race-mixing destroys what God called good. Modern political correctness would call such a view “racist.” If God created each race beautiful unto itself, does that make God racist? If so, then God is the First Racist (Tate 2013, 10).

Furthermore, the recent advances in genetics and the mapping of the human genome put to test the idea that ‘race is a social construct’.<sup>88</sup> Additionally, the ‘lurid preoccupation’ that Ferber mentions in the first quote is an over-interpretation of the idea of ‘blood mixing’ (interracial sexuality). To a white nationalist, the white race is the height of human evolution, and white females of child-bearing age are only two to three percent of the human population and with countries like France, Great Britain, Italy, Norway, and Sweden being inundated by ‘colored’ people, the white race appears to be dying. Therefore, a defense of the race is imparted in trying to protect white women from interracial sexuality. In examining these ideas, it is important to examine how the culture of defeat and cultural trauma have exacerbated the various economic and social forces that have been at work in lowering white birth rates in white countries since World War Two.

Basically, the theoretical basis that will be used to examine the novels in Chapter Four takes several differing theories of trauma and crystalizes them to develop a new theory that explains the various ways in which ‘cultural defeat,’ the ‘culture of defeat’ and ‘cultural trauma’ have developed to impact the themes, characters and plots of white nationalist novels. The novels themselves can be viewed through the lens of fairy tales—as stories meant to impart a moral and to create a mythos through which inspiration is given, in the words of neo-Nazi H. A. Covington

<sup>88</sup> For more on this, see Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray, *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* (New York: Free Press, 1994). For a refutation of *The Bell Curve*, see Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man: The Definite Refutation of the Bell Curve. Revised and Expanded Edition* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996). For a recent refutation of Gould’s ‘non-expert’ opinion, see Nicholas Wade, *A Troublesome Inheritance: Genes, Race, and Human History* (New York: Penguin Press, 2014). This is not to say that one race is better than another; however, ‘race,’ in genetic terms, has nothing to do with societal wishes and everything to do with one’s parents and the genes inherited from one’s ancestors. Further, see Charles Murray’s 2014 address at Harvard, ‘The Bell Curve Revisited’—[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p\\_bFpmNSBiY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p_bFpmNSBiY).

explaining his *Northwest Novels* saga, “The novels were written not to show you what to do but to show you the kind of men and women you should be” (Covington 2015, 2).

Overall, while psychohistory has fallen out of favor with many historians and is almost never used to analyze characters in metanarratives, it is felt that psychohistory and its sister theories—trauma theory and group dynamics can shed an important light on the mentality, worldview and feelings of helplessness felt by many contemporary American white nationalists, at least as expressed in their novels. Furthermore, the erudite analysis of James Gibson in his *Warrior Dreams: Manhood in Post-Vietnam America* is extremely valid for this chapter, in that his work strives to explain the explosion of femme fatale and ‘communist hysteria’ novels to describe the milieu of certain parts of white society at the mid-late 20<sup>th</sup> century in the United States. It is interesting, though beyond the scope of this work, that the overwhelming majority of femme fatale novels involve red-blooded American white males resisting the temptations of various temptresses, be they sexy female Russian spies, sexy female Chinese/North Korean spies, sexy female beatniks and/or sexy female hippies, sexy ‘women libbers,’ and sexy dames/married/fallen women, as these women are normally pictured as being a modern version of succubae.<sup>89</sup> In essence, these novels echo the plots of the famous *Freikorps* novels of post-World War One Germany, as illustrated by psychoanalyst Klaus Theweleit in his two volume work *Männerphantasien* (translated as *Male Fantasies*).<sup>90</sup> The American white nationalist novel, as well, pictures a biblical-themed temptation, though not just of the flesh but also of the world of consumerism and the easy life.

The disillusionment and collapse of the ‘American Dream’ among a certain sector of white America, mostly lower to upper middle-class whites, is also brilliantly analyzed by Michael Kimmel in his 2013 work *Angry White Men: American Masculinity at the End of an Era*. In essence, the cultural and social victory of the political left in the United States, which is arguably one of the most underreported and underexplored of all American cultural shifts, has

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<sup>89</sup> The best overall examination of this genre is *Gumshoe America: Hard-Boiled Crime Fiction and the Rise and Fall of New Deal Liberalism* by Sean McCann (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000) and the aforementioned *Warrior Dreams* by James Gibson. For a related issue, see Bram Dijkstra, *Evil Sisters: The Threat of Female Sexuality and the Cult of Manhood* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996).

<sup>90</sup> It is rather unfortunate that so few of the *Freikorps* novels have been translated into English. Indeed, very few of the novels have been reprinted in Germany, although with the centennial of the First World War and the Weimar Republic approaching, maybe German scholars will revisit those turbulent times. At present, only two novels by Ernst von Salomon have been translated, namely *The Outlaws* (*Die Geächteten*) and *It Cannot Be Stormed*. Since the *Freikorps* formed the basis for the embryonic NSDAP (Nazi Party), more research needs to be conducted into their fictional worldview, though Klaus Theweleit’s study is a very good primer, if used cautiously.

isolated a group of white, heavily armed, mostly conservative, if not right-wing, people on the fringes of American society. Indeed, the title of the 2014 book by former *Maxim* magazine editor, Greg Gutfeld states this ideological victory perfectly—*Not Cool: The Hipster Elite and Their War on You*. Overall, angry white men, to use Kimmel’s phraseology have seen their values, meaning the values they share with their fathers and grandfathers trampled on, ridiculed and denigrated by people who are anathema to them, the ‘hipsters’ to use Gutfeld’s expression —“pointy-headed, pinko, neo-Communist thought commissars who are anti-Christian, anti-white, anti-male”—to use white nationalist terms.<sup>91</sup>

These works, combined with those mentioned in the first paragraph will form a crucible to extrude a working theory for analyzing the various tropes found in American white nationalist fiction. This theory also provides a flexible, working theory to analyze many other forms of American fiction, including the explosion of the aforementioned ‘apocalyptic’/ TEOTWAWKI novels that foretell a collapse of the United States and its breakup into smaller states. Depending on the novel, the breakup could be caused by economic collapse, societal collapse, technological collapse, or some combination of the above, a so-called nation-wide ‘systems collapse’ akin to that of the Mayan empire, while the states founded on the ruins of the United States might be purely ethnic, purely religious, or any combination depending on the author and his vision of the collapse. Some of the same strands that are present in the America Collapsed/TEOTWAWKI novels are also present in white nationalist narratives and the intersection of them is of major importance and explored in subsequent subchapters.

It is important to remember that white nationalists and their opponents view each other as the epitome of evil, with each side viewing the goals of the other as the end of all their hopes and dreams. Therefore, each side views the other with acrimony and suspicion, playing in political terms, a zero sum game, which means they must win or else catastrophe will strike. This apocalyptic view of the present situation, from a white nationalist perspective, becomes ever

<sup>91</sup> For more on this group’s ideology, see the present author’s “Brothers in Arms: *Maxim* Magazine, *The Man Show*, and the Return of Knuckledragger Culture to American Society,” in Wojciech Kalaga, Jacek Mydla and Katarzyna Ancuta (eds.), *Political Correctness: Mouth Wide Shut?* (Peter Lang, 2009), 215-223. Also, Abby L. Ferber’s *White Man Falling: Race, Gender, and White Supremacy* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1998) may be helpful in understanding the white nationalist discourse as regards white men’s perceived loss of respect. Finally, the present author’s article in *Fearful Symmetries: Representations of Anxiety in Cultural, Literary and Political Discourses*, edited by Leszek Drong and Jacek Mydla (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2013) will help in filling in the historical gaps of Ferber’s research, “Mr. Turner’s Fears and Fantasies: *The Turner Diaries* and White Fear in America”, 266-275. Michael Kimmel, *Angry White Men: American Masculinity at the End of an Era* (New York: Nation, 2013) and Greg Gutfeld, *Not Cool: The Hipster Elite and Their War on You* (New York: Crown Forum, 2014).

more apparent as white nationalists watch impotently as formerly exclusively ‘white’ countries such as Norway, Sweden, Finland, Germany, France, Hungary, etc. are “invaded” and “inundated” by non-whites, as seen by the quote below. Hence, their defeat and lack of political power to stem the tide of non-white immigration, in their eyes, will eventually destroy the white race, which becomes in essence, genocide by demographics, which in turn, will doom the human race to mediocrity and barbarism for, according to white nationalists, without the white race, there can be no progress, as explained by Covington in *A Mighty Fortress*, with the fictional Northwest Volunteer Army’s ‘Twelve Points’:

4. [...] Diversity has ruined America. Even if all races were exactly the same, if there were no differences whatsoever, the fact that whites created America as we know it today means that we now have the right to demand at least a portion of what we have created be set aside for our exclusive use. [...]

6. Based upon the extensive history of both the black and mestizo races, it is clear that they are not capable of creating or maintaining an advanced society. It was not Africans who invented such things as the wheel and gunpowder, forged steel, domesticated the horse, sailed the world on voyages of exploration and conquest, invented aviation and charted the mysteries of the human body. It was Europeans. Third World immigration eventually means a Third World country. Racial integration and diversity is like mixing horse manure and ice cream. It does wonders for the manure, but it doesn’t do much for the ice cream.

11. The number of whites, as a percentage of world population, is now down into the single digits and falling fast. There can be no doubt that the white race is in danger of literal, physical extinction. All of the white nations on earth are now accepting large numbers of nonwhite immigrants. The only one of the three major races of earth that is in real danger of extinction is the white race (Covington 2005, 233-235).

## 2.1 The Culture of Defeat: Schivelbusch and the Confederacy

From the outset, any analysis of the novels produced by American white nationalists must start with an inquiry into the culture of defeat and in particular, how this culture was expressed and utilized to create the mythos of the Lost Cause because the basis of current American white nationalism lies in the defeat of the Southern Confederacy in its attempt to form a new nation based on white supremacy. While most white nationalist novels advocate some form of white separatism and/or white supremacy, with most contemporary/post-2000 novels advocating white separatism and reinforcing the idea that political correctness is detrimental to the future of the white ‘race,’ many current American white nationalists often play the game of what might have been if the Confederacy would have won, further reinforcing among their adherents the lost opportunity of the Lost Cause.

While many politically left-leaning politicians and pundits, in particular the three major news e-news outlets/blogs—Huffington Post, Salon magazine, and the Daily Beast—have argued that the United States is a racist society, and there is no doubt that racial inequities still

exist in the United States, mostly as regards black Americans and Hispanic Americans, white nationalists bemoan the loss of a truly racist society in the loss of the Confederacy, with many white separatists also mourning the defeat of the Third Reich. The previous statement is not meant to abrogate any moral culpability that the members of the Confederacy or the Third Reich might have had for wanting to base their society on slavery as stated in the Confederate Constitution and in the case of Nazi Germany, engaging in genocide, nor is it meant to excuse white nationalists from the moral and legal responsibilities of their past, present, or future actions; however, one must keep in mind that this work examines white nationalism, and therefore, must boldly tread inside the *Weltanschauung* of white nationalists of various stripes, from neo-Confederates to neo-Nazis. As previously stated, the Southern Confederacy, more accurately, the mythos surrounding the Confederacy provides the basis for all previous and present incarnations of all right-wing or far-right/racially conservative thought in the United States since 1865.

Wolfgang Schivelbusch, in his highly neglected theory of the culture of defeat espouses in his book (*Die Kultur der Niederlage*—translated into English as *The Culture of Defeat: On National Trauma, Mourning, and Recovery*) that when a nation is defeated in a war of annihilation (such as the Confederacy experienced, Franco-Prussian War France, or World War One Germany—Schivelbusch’s examples), that nation undergoes certain stages of ‘mourning,’ ‘loss’ and ‘recovery’.<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, the stages produce certain characteristic features in art, literature and society. His ideas form the first pillar of the idea of the ‘theory of cultural defeat’ that is proposed at the end of this chapter.

The first stage is the “Dreamland” stage in which the defeated society produces “a unique type of euphoria” (Schivelbusch 2003, 10). Furthermore, as Schivelbusch states, the “old regime is accused of everything from materialism to corruption to laziness and selfishness and is blamed for the fact that believing in nothing more than money and pleasure, [the nation] lost sight of higher values” (Schivelbusch 2003, 11). Basically, the euphoria in the ‘Dreamland’ phase offers the society to be “cathartically cleansed, freed of any responsibility or guilt” (Schivelbusch 2003, 12). This phase is marked by a societal daze, one in which the nation cannot believe what has happened to it and one in which, at least in the American South after Lee’s surrender, many felt

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<sup>92</sup> Scholars seem to have taken little interest in Schivelbusch’s research on the culture of defeat. Indeed, only three book reviews and one interview with Schivelbusch are listed on the [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org) website. At the time of writing, it does not appear that any scholars have used his theories in their work.

that they would be accepted into the Union as equal partners, just without slavery. In turn, the North was “expected to honor this act of self-purification, since to revenge himself and punish a nation that was deceived by its leaders would be to commit an injustice on par with that of the leaders themselves” (13). When that did not happen, meaning the ‘horrors’ of Radical Reconstruction were visited upon the South starting in 1867, the South produced various groups to fight the ‘conquerors of the prostrate South.’ These groups, from the original Ku Klux Klan to former Confederate general Wade Hampton’s ‘Redshirts’ in South Carolina, which also included some ‘freedmen,’ and the Knights of the White Camellia were a delayed *levee en masse* in which the entire nation takes up arms to stave off defeat and redeem the nation’s honor. Indeed, in some parts of the Reconstruction South, it seemed that the war had not ended with the surrender of the Confederate armed forces.<sup>93</sup> As eloquently stated by Anne Sarah Rubin in *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-1865*, “Shock, horror, and disbelief greeted the news [of the Confederate surrender, fall of Richmond, surrender of Lee’s army at Appomattox Courthouse]. The sheer emotionalism of Confederates’ response to the end of the war gives lie to the notion that Confederates had lost their sense of national allegiance” (Rubin 2005, 117). Psychologically speaking, many, if not most former Confederates still held allegiances to the ideals of the Confederacy, as is evident by the many monuments honoring fallen soldiers and the wave of monuments that were erected on almost every Southern country courthouse green between 1890 and 1920, the resistance of the Reconstruction-era Ku Klux Klan and the furthering of the Lost Cause by the United Daughters of the Confederacy and Sons of Confederate Veterans. Furthermore, Rubin continues,

While the state and military apparatus were rapidly dismantled, the emotional hold that independent nationhood had over people was not so easily broken. [...] Paramount among these benefits [of being American citizens] were the protection of property [destroyed by the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Amendments], the right to vote [taken away from former Confederates by the Reconstruction Acts of 1867], and the right of white Southerners to determine the post-war South’s racial order [eventually won by the Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan and associated organizations, also known as Redeemers, that returned the planter aristocracy to power

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<sup>93</sup> This idea is further reinforced by various studies on the violence that was unleashed in the Reconstruction South and West by former Confederate bushwhackers: T. J. Stiles’ study on Jesse James, *Jesse James: Last Rebel of the Civil War* (New York: Vintage, 2003), Ralph P. Ganis, et al *Desperate Measures: Jesse James and the Klan Battles of Reconstruction* (Hickory, NC: Tarheel Press, 2007) Marley Brant’s *The Outlaw Youngers: A Confederate Brotherhood* (Latham, MD: Madison, 1992) and Ben Severance’s *Tennessee’s Radical Army: The State Guard and its Role in Reconstruction, 1867-1869* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2005) examine various political aspects while numerous fictional works, such as Catherine Stewart’s 1948 novel *Three Roads to Valhalla* about Reconstruction Florida, Richard Wormer’s 1970 *Gone to Texas*, Paulette Jiles’ 2002 novel *Enemy Women*, one of the many novels which concerns the problems of Reconstruction Missouri, along with Forrest Carter’s 1971 novel *Outlaw Josey Wales* are among the best fictional presentations of the lawlessness that prevailed in parts of the Reconstruction South.



in the post-Reconstruction South]. That concern underlay almost all the struggles over Southern identity during Reconstruction” (Rubin 2005, 138).

Since the evidence for this is the ‘conservative revolution’ of the Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan, the psychological loyalty of many former Confederates and their progeny obviously lay with the idea that while the Confederacy might be dead, the ideas on which the country was founded upon, white supremacy and a sense that a racially pure white government was the best course for the South certainly was not buried and forgotten.

In regards white nationalist fiction, it took the South almost twenty years to produce novels that looked back on the defeat of the Confederacy and the horrors of Reconstruction. The first novel to be published was Brinsley Matthews’ *Well-Nigh Reconstructed: A Political Novel* in 1882. This novel and others like it allowed for a reconsideration of the Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan, the Civil War, the establishment of the Confederacy, and a nostalgic look at the Old South. Because these novels examined the Klan from a particular point of view, it appears that the Reconstruction Klan had massive support among the former Confederate populace, as evidenced by the fact that the most popular ‘memoirs’/‘histories’ of the Reconstruction Klan were written by women.<sup>94</sup>

The Reconstruction Klan’s rise to prominence within the Reconstruction South would not have been possible without the support of the local white population—particularly that of Southern white women. The importance that women played in supporting the Klan has often been overlooked and while the psychological importance of women within the white nationalist movement overall has been somewhat ignored, for the Reconstruction Klan, protecting white women and the widows of Confederate soldiers was of paramount importance. Many Southern women were appalled that Northern soldiers and officers complained that Southern women were

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<sup>94</sup> Susan Lawrence Davis, *Authentic History of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1877* (New York: American Library Service, 1924) and Mrs. S. E. F. Rose, *The Ku Klux Klan Or Invisible Empire* (New Orleans, LA: L. Graham, 1914). Rose’s book is expanded from her 1909 8-page booklet that was published by the Mississippi Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (the UDC.). There were other ‘memoirs’ of the Reconstruction Klan written by men, namely Rev. D. L. Wilson’s and J. C. Lester’s *The Ku Klux Klan: Its Origin, Growth and Disbandment* which was originally published in *Century Magazine* in 1884 and later released as a book in 1902. Capt. John C. Lester (CSA). Lester was one of the founders of the Ku Klux Klan. Among other books of the Klan Kraze of the early 1900s are C. W. Tyler’s 1903 *The K. K. K.* (a novel listed in the “Timeline” of the present work), and Eyre Damer’s *When the Ku Klux Rode* (New York: Neale Publishing, 1912), which concentrates on the ‘Black Belt’ of Alabama. Rose’s and Davis’ books were both endorsed by the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the United Confederate Veterans, which makes them extremely important in establishing the myth of the Reconstruction Klan as a benevolent, protective organization.

“less than courteous” to them. A perfect example of the attitude of many white Southern women to the Yankee “Invader” was Columbia, South Carolina resident Emma Le Conte, who remarked,

What do they expect? They invade our country, murder our people, desolate our homes, conquer us, subject us to every indignity and humiliation—and then we must offer our hands with pleasant smiles and invite them into our homes, entertain them perhaps with ‘Southern hospitality’—all because sometimes they act with common decency and humility! Are they crazy? What do they think we are made of [...]?” (Rubin 2005, 149).

This reaction was quite typical of many former Confederates and led to many years of animosity and distrust. From a psychological perspective, it is astounding that many Southerners did not continue the war, because the majority, while tired of war, felt that their honor and dignity had been besmirched by the Radical Republicans. In a sense, this attitude is very common among present American white nationalists, as is seen by their writings.

The second phase is ‘Awakening.’ In this stage, according to Schivelbusch, the defeated states: “The victor has freed us from despotism, for which we are very grateful, but it is time for him to go” (Schivelbusch 2003, 14). For white nationalist fiction, this phase is interesting because it has been skipped and gone straight into the next phase ‘Unworthy Victories’; however, more moderate white nationalists have started to appreciate the situation they find themselves in and are allowing for ‘movement modernization’ in which Jews, homosexuals and others deemed to be outside the pale (literally) are allowed into ‘the Movement,’ which makes parts of the white nationalist movement akin to the Tea Party movement and the Libertarian Party. In essence, this is a combination of the ‘Awakening’ phase and in a sense, ‘Imitating the Victors.’

Following the ‘Awakening’ phase is the ‘Unworthy Victories’ phase in which the defeated views the victor as having won through deceit, treachery or other forms of ‘ungentlemanly combat.’ This is especially the case if the victor refuses to leave and in the case of the defeated South, the victors tried to overturn the racial and social order. If the case of the South is considered, many commentators mentioned that former Confederates stated that, “Make it a fair fight and we’d [have] whipped you all the way through” (Schivelbusch 2003, 16.). This phase is of utmost importance for the present study because many white nationalists feel that the Political left has deceived the American public into believing in political correctness, diversity and multiculturalism, which is also echoed in the white nationalist phrase of ‘awakening,’ as if political correctness and other associated ideologies puts their adherents in some form of stupor or coma. Part of this phase includes the ‘Losers in Battle, Winners in Spirit’ phase in which the defeated nation’s spirit is foisted as being superior to that of the winner’s. Furthermore, while the idea of

being invaded by barbarian hordes is as old as civilization itself, in the former Confederacy, the ‘barbarian hordes’ at least in its novels, become more Southern than Southerners as they are viewed as marrying Rebel daughters and if not actively supporting the Klan, then playing no active part in suppressing it. “A similar picture of the defeated was painted by the intelligentsia in the victorious American North. Disgusted by the vulgarity of the Gilded Age, writers like Henry James, Henry Adams, and Herman Melville cast the figure of the Southern gentleman as a moral hero in a deeply immoral world” (Schivelbusch 2003, 21). The idea of the heroic Southern Cavalier is contrasted with that of the mercantilist, greedy capitalist from the North who “cannot whip our soldiers, so they burn out and starve our women and children.” (Schivelbusch 2003, 61). As will be seen in Chapter Four, the idea of ‘unworthy victories’ plays a major part in the white nationalist novel, in particular, the waging of war on helpless women and children which, according to the mythos developed by white nationalist novels, the federal government, or ZOG/The Beast, seems to delight in.<sup>95</sup> This viewpoint becomes important in a later stage of the ‘defeated culture’—the ‘Recovery’ phase, in which the nation takes its place among the family of nations who have been defeated in war but not in ‘spirit.’ If certain psychic needs are not fulfilled, then the ‘Revenge and Revanche’ phase will follow ‘Unworthy Victories.’

For the ‘Revenge and Revanche’ phase to be productive to the defeated nation, the conquerors must concede the sacrifices made by the conquered, allow them some ‘breathing room,’ and take on a tit for tat process of cultural exchange. However, if these phases do not occur, then myth making by the defeated such as *The Lost Cause* by the former Confederate South, and the post–World War One German “Stab in the Back” will occur. “This myth-making serves a protective purpose as well, because it protects the nation from a ‘reality unbearable to the psyche’ (Schivelbusch 2003, 26). For the Confederate South and current American white nationalists, the defeat of the Confederacy and more recently, the rise and victory of the various civil rights movements have been experienced with trepidation, which gives rise to other forms of myth-making. Examples of the current form of myth-making among various rightists (not only

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<sup>95</sup> ‘ZOG’ stands for Zionist Occupied Government, the idea that the United States government is controlled by Jews. It was first coined by Eric Thomson, the ‘Sage of Yakima’ in the late 1960s. ‘The Beast’ is normally used to refer to the Federal government and its various agencies by American Nazis and white separatists, particularly after the Waco ‘massacre’ in 1993 and the 1992 Ruby Ridge standoff, in which Vicki Weaver was killed by an FBI sharpshooter while holding her infant daughter, Elisheba, in her arms. The fact that the sharpshooter, Lon Horiuchi, was an ethnic Japanese American did not make matters any better and further enflamed white nationalist passions regarding ethnic minorities and elevated Vicki Weaver into the pantheon of white nationalist heroes and heroines. For more on Ruby Ridge, see Jess Walter, *Every Knee Shall Bow: The Truth and Tragedy of Ruby Ridge and the Weaver Family* (New York: Harper Collins, 1995).

white nationalists) are the various myths/conspiracy theories regarding events such as the Randy Weaver siege at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, the Branch Davidian disaster in Waco, Texas, 9/11, the FEMA ‘nonresponse’ to Hurricane Katrina in 2005, Operation ‘Fast and Furious’ in which Federal BATF agents bought guns that ended up being smuggled into Mexico and used by various drug cartels, the ‘militarization’ of various rural police departments, the ‘Birther’ controversy regarding the birthplace of President Barack Obama, etc.

This is followed by ‘Revanche to Unconditional Surrender.’ In quoting Eric L. McKittrick, Schivelbusch states:

The victor needs to be assured that his triumph has been invested with the fullest spiritual and ceremonial meaning. He must know his expenditures have gone for something, that his objectives have been accomplished, and that the righteousness of his principles has been given its vindication[...] He must have ritual proofs. The conquered enemy must be prepared to give symbolic satisfactions as well as physical surrender. He must act out his defeat (Schivelbusch 2003, 28).

When the defeated nation does not provide ‘ritual proofs,’ the conquerors will demand ‘Unconditional Surrender,’ which provokes a response of renewed conflict on the part of the defeated nation. As long as that defeated nation has an intact national identity, as in the case of the Confederate South, they will refuse to be ‘reeducated,’ show demonstrations of ‘regret’ or ‘conversion.’ Historically, the conservative rebellion of the Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan was a reaction to demands for ‘unconditional surrender’ by the victorious North, especially the Radical Republican faction. Again, Rubin brilliantly observes the ways in which the idea of ‘Unconditional Surrender’ provoked Southerners into a white hot rage. Quoting an author in *De Bow’s Review*, Rubin illustrates this attitude: “If they wish to control the South in any other way than by the bayonet, let them begin by showing us that respect which our relations to them as fellow-men, not to say our rights as fellow citizens require.” And he continues: “The ardent Southerner can forgive any injury to his property; but to scoff at his faith, or to assail his honor, is to commit an offense which blood alone can atone for” (Rubin 2005, 157). The problem with Reconstruction was not President Lincoln’s policies, which were enacted by President Johnson, as they were far more lenient than Radical Reconstruction but the Radicals who wanted to punish the South. As perceived by Rubin, “The leniency of Presidential Reconstruction political left Southern honor intact; Radical Reconstruction did not, and that was one of the reasons Southerners fought it so forcefully. Reconstruction politics were a discourse on loyalty, on honor, on respect, with race always an implicit, if often unspoken, corollary” (Rubin 2005, 157). Since Radical Republicans, and their intellectual descendants, progressive Democrats, saw and see any

resistance to their policies as the rise of ‘racism’ and ‘white supremacy,’ they called for and currently call for ‘unconditional surrender’ from the ‘evil’ forces of former slaveholders/the planter aristocracy and their literal and philosophical descendants, the neo-Confederates and other white nationalist groups. In the case of the planter class, the Ku Klux Klan arose and resisted all attempts to enforce societal reconstruction with arms and terror. In contemporary American society it seems, the more the radical progressives push their agenda, the more it seems that the white nationalist right, at least in their novels, becomes radicalized.

‘Renewal’ is the last stage of the ‘Defeated nation’ paradigm. In the ‘Renewal’ stage, the defeated nation takes its ‘rightful’ place among the nations of the world mainly because of its perceived moral and social advantages over the conquerors. In regards to the defeated South, Schivelbusch vividly states, “To accept their own defeat as a verdict by the court of world history was one thing, to sit idly by while all humanity was threatened by future disaster was quite another” (Schivelbusch 2003, 31). For the former Confederate South, this ‘verdict’ was to be implemented in the ‘Jim Crow’ laws of segregation that kept the South racially and culturally segregated for almost a century after the American Civil War ended.

In applying Schivelbusch’s paradigm, it is important to state that he used his structure to examine nations that had been defeated in a war of annihilation. The same could be said for white nationalist fiction, as both the multicultural and progressive political and social Political left and the racist Right both see each other in apocalyptic terms, meaning that both see the other as the ultimate in evil. Therefore, both talk in terms of annihilating their opponents, both physically and metaphorically/philosophically. Furthermore, the last phase of Schivelbusch’s theory is very important, because white nationalist fiction warns that disaster is approaching with every victory by the multiculturalists/progressives/One Worlders because this group, white nationalists feel, want everyone to be the same, in essence ‘getting rid of racism by getting rid of race.’ At its heart, white nationalism spurns the idea of ‘all the colors bleeding into one’ because it is based, somewhat, on a particular view of the Bible. To the Christian Identity faction of white nationalism, humans are interfering with God’s plan and natural law because He made the races (as He made all things), so obviously He wants the races to be separate—black with black, white with white, Jew (Satan’s spawn—literally the children of Satan in Christian Identity theology) with Jew and so on.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> It is very interesting that the slogans of political correctness ‘everyone is the same’ but they are ‘diverse’ echo the 1956 movie *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, which was a corollary lesson on the dangers of Communism. In the

Finally, the artifacts of mourning that accompanied the Lost Cause mythos in the South—the erection of monuments to commemorate the sacrifice of Confederate soldiers, various memorial ceremonies to remember the Confederate dead, and the novels that were produced during the period of the Lost Cause all point to a society coming to grips with its defeat at the hands of those it viewed as less Godly. In essence, the Lost Cause of the South was not only to keep the freedmen down and keep Southern society segregated but was also a very successful attempt, at least from the Redeemers point of view, to regain God's favor by maintaining what was viewed as a divinely-ordained social structure.<sup>97</sup> This social structure was reinforced by various rituals, such as Confederate Memorial Day, a day when the entire white community would turn out to lay flowers on Confederate graves, hear speeches from prominent politicians about the sacrifices of Confederate veterans and overall, engage in a somber but festive remembrance of the Confederacy. For Schivelbusch, the elevation of Southern morality during the beginnings of the Gilded Age harkened back to the idea that the South had fought for the true spirit of the nation, "In the same vein, the Confederacy was seen to represent the true cause of the nation whereas the North, infiltrated by foreigners, played the role of the traitor" (Schivelbusch 2003, 62). Since ritual plays an important part in the formation of community, these civic rituals would form the bulwark of what would become the nascent rumblings of the mentality of the white nationalist movement, as these rituals were portrayed by many authors but especially Thomas Dixon. As has been shown and articulated, white nationalism is an ideology rooted in a particular view of the past, and it looks back to various times in American history when whites were on top of the social structure. Once the culture changed and the various civil rights movements started to chip away at the power and stability of the 'white Republic,' white nationalism would turn into a political movement that would eventually call for rebellion and revolution.

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movie, alien pods replace people as they sleep: (pod creature Dr. Coughlin) "Suddenly while you're asleep, they'll absorb your minds, your memories and you're reborn in an untroubled world." Dr. Bennell responds, "Where everyone's the same?" "Exactly," says (pod creature Dr. Coughlin). Dr. Bennell, shaking his head in sorrow answers, "What a world." *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, 1956. 46:13.

<sup>97</sup> See Daniel W. Stowell's *Rebuilding Zion: The Religious Reconstruction of the South, 1863-1877* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), particularly Chapter 1: "God's Wrath: Disruption, Destruction, and Confusion in Southern Religious Life," Chapter 2: God's Chastisement: The Confederate Understanding of the Civil War," and Chapter 7: "Educating Confederate Christians: Sunday Schools and Denominational Colleges".

## 2.2 Lost in the Hurricane of Trauma: Psycho-history and American White Nationalism

Fear and revenge are natural human emotions that permeate white nationalist fiction, however, it is redemption that is its most obvious component; therefore, psychohistory is another pillar on which to build the theory of cultural defeat. Psychohistory has had a long history of examining innumerable forms of white nationalism from various angles, from Kovel's previously mentioned work, to Robert Jay Lifton's works on the Nazi doctors to later essays on American white nationalist leaders. Nevertheless, few scholars have delved into the fictional worlds created by white nationalist authors. Currently in the United States, very few so-called experts on the white racist right mention white nationalist fiction, and if they do, they only seem to concentrate on *The Turner Diaries* by William L. Pierce and *The Clansman* by Thomas Dixon. While those novels might be the most well-known, they are by far not the only ones. Furthermore, very few scholars have used the tools of psychohistory to examine the novels.

Most scholarly analysis related to various forms of white nationalism, such as those by Michael Kimmel in his 2013 book *Angry White Men: American Masculinity at the End of an Age* and Leonard Zeskind's monumental 2009 tome *Blood and Politics: American White Nationalism from the Margins to the Mainstream*, note that certain sectors of the white population feel 'entitled' to achieving the same lifestyle as that realized by their parents and/or grandparents and when they fail to attain it, they become disheartened and start lashing out in all directions, looking for 'scapegoats' to blame for their misfortune. In actuality, whites are the most heavily invested in what used to be called the American Dream. This myth, while appropriate for various minorities, seems to be out of reach for the average, working class white. Hence, it makes sense that when a white man plays by the rules, works hard and still does not achieve the same lifestyle that his parents enjoyed, he will look for enemies to blame. What this knee jerk analysis fails to mention is the undercurrent of fear and psychological trauma at being denigrated and laughed at for being white, male, heterosexual, traditional, politically conservative (if not right-wing or neo-Nazi in 21<sup>st</sup> century America. The back blurb of Covington's novel *A Distant Thunder* describes the main character, Shane Ryan and this feeling:

Shane Ryan is a wrong guy. Wrong race. Wrong gender. Wrong class. Wrong side of the tracks. Wrong attitude. America in the near future is a cold, cruel place, especially in the hardscrabble rural Pacific Northwest. There's a war in the Middle East, a revived draft, mass unemployment, an economy permanently on the skids, greed and corruption, incompetence and stupidity at the top. Poor blue-collar kids

from the trailer park are last in line for everything. America has screwed Shane Ryan, and he returns the favor. He joins the Northwest Volunteer Army, a terrorist organization dedicated to overthrowing the United States government and establishing an independent nation. America is about to learn the hard way that what goes around, comes around (Covington 2004, back cover).

While the reins of power appear to be held by the group mentioned above (white, male, heterosexual, conservative) and it is true that many positions of power in the United States are held by these men, the overall feeling among white nationalists is that they have lost the ‘culture wars’ and among more radical white nationalists, the only way for the white race to survive on the North American continent is to separate from the United States and form their own country, as seen in the neo-Confederate movement in the Southern states and the Northwest independence movement in the Pacific Northwest—the states of Idaho, Oregon, Washington and Wyoming, and the western third of Montana.<sup>98</sup>

The power elites have, in white nationalist rhetoric, ‘sold out’ their own people and have no interest in protecting their race, they only want to protect their wealth. As stated by General Frank Barrow, the lead negotiator in H. A. Covington’s *A Mighty Fortress*, which concentrates on the Longview Conference, the conference that lead to the independence of the NAR (North American Republic—the white, ethnically pure homeland) in explaining the difference between a Nazi and a conservative:

I don’t define the difference [...] Commander Rockwell did. He said that a National Socialist is someone who wants to save his *race*. A conservative is someone who wants to save his *money*. I have said that race is *the* American issue, but the problem is we’ve never actually admitted it and resolved the core dispute, which is to *whom* does the continent of North America belong? The liberals and Reds have always claimed that America was founded by and for white racists and based on white racism. That’s not true, unfortunately. If it was, if we had admitted *de jure* as well as *de facto* from the beginning that the white man was claiming this land for us and us alone, then things would have been a who lot different (Covington 2005, 344).

Furthermore, it is felt that the elites in both parties—Democrat and Republican—support the destruction or at the very least, economic and cultural ‘slavery’ of the remaining white people in the United States, since those people hold most of the private guns and much of the remaining private wealth. The dual victories of the various civil rights movements (African-American,

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<sup>98</sup> Indeed, it is interesting to note that both of these movements have produced a series of novels that envision the ultimate outcome of their respective movements. For the ‘neo-Confederate’ separatist movement, Gregory Kay’s *The Third Revolution* series of: *The Third Revolution*, *The Third Revolution: The Long Knives*, *The Third Revolution: Black Flag*, and *The Third Revolution: The Warlord*, along with Lloyd Lennard’s *The Last Confederate Flag* form the basis of modern ‘neo-Confederate’ fiction. From the ‘Northwest Independence’ movement, Harold A. Covington’s series of novels—*The Hill of the Ravens* (also known as *THOR*), *A Distant Thunder*, *A Mighty Fortress*, *The Brigade*, and *Freedom’s Sons* form the foundation of the Northwest Independence movement as envisioned by Pastor Richard G. Butler of the Aryan Nations and Harold A. Covington, among others.



LGBTQ, Women) and political correctness, along with the foisting of multi-culturalism and diversity, while at the same time denigrating Euro-centric culture has led to a feeling of malaise and confusion among many sectors of the white population. This group feels that their values have been attacked from all sides and that the country that ‘their’ ancestors built no longer represents their values or indeed wants them. It is felt, especially among revolutionary white nationalists, that the power elites (regardless of their color) along both coasts feel, in the words of a Jewish character—Chief of Staff for President Hunter Wallace, Ronald Schiff, in American Nazi H. A. Covington’s 2013 novel *Freedom’s Sons*, “Who gives a fuck about flyover country?” (Covington 2013, 344).<sup>99</sup> This was spoken in reference to launching a nuclear strike on the fictional Northwest American Republic, the all-white country founded by white revolutionaries in the states of the Pacific Northwest. In many current white nationalist novels, especially those published from 2000 onwards, the worst enemies are not Jews—though Jews are always “lurking” in the shadows—or blacks or white elites who kill, rape and plunder their white brothers and sisters, or allow blacks to do these things. The white nationalist’s worst enemies are whites who have ‘sold out’ to the Jews for fame and fortune, like President Hunter Wallace cited above.

According to Kovel, the psychohistory of white racism is associated with Freudian concepts about early childhood development, in particular the development of childhood fantasies revolving around dirt and power; however, what is of primary concern is not Kovel’s ideas but psychohistory’s prism regarding fear and trepidation and the development and usage of enemies, since this is what is collectively the most common aspects of white nationalism. The reason for this is that white nationalists believe that their race is under constant physical threat and they fear that it will disappear in the future, that enemies surround them, and, finally, that without fighting their race will disappear from the earth.

Robert Godwin’s 1994 article, “The Function of Enemies” in *The Journal of Psychohistory* is of particular interest to this project. Godwin’s theories revolve around certain primitive emotions that seem to permeate hate groups, which would include most current white nationalist groups to use Godwin’s nomenclature. In quoting Alford, Godwin helps to expose one of the most overlooked aspects when exploring so-called ‘hate groups’ or various nationalists,

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<sup>99</sup> For an example of the rhetoric levelled at the elites by cultural conservatives, see Dana Loesch, *Flyover Nation: You Can’t Run a Country You’ve Never Been To* (New York: Penguin, 2016). Admittedly, Loesch is a Christian conservative, not a white nationalist; however, the rhetoric is the shared by both groups as regards the elites.

that of primitive emotions of abandonment, fear and the ability of an individual to subsume his ego into that of a collective 'we':

One of the reasons people form groups is because they transform private anxieties into shared ones by allowing the individual to "project his anxiety outward, where it may be confronted as an objective threat to the goodness of the group (Godwin 1994, 81).

This aspect is of overriding importance in understanding the ways in which the anxieties of the various authors of white nationalist novels can impact their readers. The ability of the authors to populate their fictional universes with characters, both good and bad, and the actions that those characters take can have impact on a wider scale. For most authors, it seems that the redemptive aspect of American culture is what is most important in confronting these anxieties.

For many whites and white nationalists in particular, it seems that the loss of various attitudes that their fathers and grandfathers held, plus the traumatic shifts within the popular culture, economy and social life of the United States has produced a feeling of anxiety and a search for enemies to blame. Godwin's analysis of this is that the breakdown of unifying fantasies will eventually lead to a breakdown of reality. He continues:

Among the unifying fantasies that have faded in the last twenty years are the fantasy of upward mobility, the fantasy of a monolithic Communist enemy, the fantasy of job, health, and old-age security in a stable corporate-welfare environment. The collapse of these fantasies has unleashed a wave of fragile enemy-seeking persecutory anxiety, since Americans must now adapt to an economic environment no longer able to contain their deepest fears and insecurities (Godwin 1994, 83–84).

While writing in 1994, Godwin's analysis is quite contemporary as regards the current psychological malaise felt by many sectors of white society, mostly from the lower to upper middle class. Among white nationalists, the idea that the enemy is not some monolithic evil empire but actually fellow American citizens is omnipresent in their writings. These enemies represent the ultimate 'Other' in the sense that they stand for everything that white nationalism opposes. For Christian Identity white nationalist followers, the Other is literally a product of Satan, or a 'mud person,' i.e. someone with dirty skin. From a psychohistorical perspective, the process of defecation and its association with dirt and filth is the psychological process by which someone might be influenced to become a racist, which returns the ideas back to Kovel's analysis of white racism and its avoidance of blacks and the darker races. However, the trauma of defeat and the hope for the future in which the white race is in the ascendancy appears to be where most white nationalist authors of fiction draw strength to write their visions of the past, present, and future.

## 2.3 The Prison of Memory: Between the Trauma of Defeat and the Brighter Future

While much of literary and cultural critical theory seems to be concerned with history and its interpretation regarding the past, white nationalist ideology appears to be engaged solely within the confines of history and cultural memory. The problem with history and memory is that both are open to interpretation, as the case of the memory of Southern slavery, when examined from either political extreme, makes painfully clear. From a political leftist political and cultural perspective, slavery was a ‘dark stain’ on the soul of the American body politic and was inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution and the ideal that ‘all men are created equal.’ From a white nationalist perspective, Southern slavery was the only time in American history where blacks ‘knew their place.’ Furthermore, the Reconstruction KKK is looked upon as the “flower of Southern manhood” and the ones who saved the South from the racial and social leveling represented by the Freedman’s Bureau and the Radical Republicans by white nationalists and associated groups and as America’s first terrorist organization by political leftists.<sup>100</sup>

As stated by Jeffery Alexander in his Introduction to the aforementioned monograph, “Cultural trauma occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways” (1). Taking this quote into account, the current and past novels of white nationalism show a remarkable cohesion with cultural trauma. Furthermore, many current white nationalists bemoan the ‘loss’ of the collective community that they feel their parents and grandparents benefited from before the advent of the seismic cultural shifts that occurred in the late 1960s to early 1970s. Quoting from Kai Erikson’s book *Everything in Its Path* on the devastating effects of a

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<sup>100</sup> For a musical interpretation, see “Whatever Happened to that Dear Ol’ Klan [of Mine]” by ‘Racist Redneck Rebels,’ which includes the lines: “The *Birth of A Nation* told our story well, We were the heroes who saved the South from Hell, Protecting white women from the raping jungle horde, And saving our country, but the Klan is no more.” For a literary interpretation, see Mrs. S. E. F. Rose’s, *The Ku Klux Klan or the Invisible Empire* and Susan L. Davis, *The Ku Klux Klan: The Invisible Empire, 1865-1877*.

massive flood on an Appalachian community, Alexander, et al. present the best definition of ‘collective trauma’ and it is quoted here in full because of its importance to the present project:

By collective trauma, on the other hand, I mean a *blow* to the basic tissues of social life that *damages* the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing sense of community. The collective trauma works its way insidiously in to the awareness of those who suffer from it, so it does not have the quality of suddenness normally associated with “trauma.” *But it is a form of shock all the same*, a gradual realization that the community *no longer exists* as an effective source of support and that *an important part of the self has disappeared*. “We” no longer exist as a connected pair or as linked cells in a larger communal body (Alexander et al 2004, 4).

This feeling of shock at the loss of the various culture wars and the condemnation of various positions near and dear to white nationalists’ sensibilities is evident when the main themes of the novels are presented: (a) redemption of a main character who might have paid lip-service or had been an active participant in supporting the aims of the One World Government (examples include: Felix Hyde, leader of the Cosmocrats in *Sown in the Darkness, A.D. 2000* by William R. Twiford, Jeff Huxton in Ward Kendall’s *Hold Back This Day*), (b) redemption of a character who has overcome personal trauma (examples: Zack Hatfield and Kristin Kicky McGee in H. A. Covington’s *The Brigade*, ‘Eric’ in *Children of the Ice* by Joseph Walthers). Regarding the leitmotif of ‘redemption,’ this work adheres to Jungian Marie-Louise von Franz and her theories on redemption in fairy tales. These ideas were analyzed in her *The Psychological Meaning of Redemption Motifs in Fairytales*, a series of seven lectures that was collected and published by Inner City Books, a publisher dedicated to publishing the works of C. G. Jung. At its core, her theory revolves around the idea that redemption involves the act of being bewitched and/or deceived by the evil character (a witch, sorcerer, etc.) in the fairy tale and the hero/heroine waking up or otherwise becoming ‘dis/enchanted.’ From the white nationalist perspective, this would coincide with those characters in white nationalist novels which become disillusioned with communism or progressive ideology or have realized their ‘racial’ spirit.

The combined losses of the Vietnam War and the various ‘culture’ wars have produced a form of cultural trauma among more conservative, traditionally-minded white Americans that the victories in the various Gulf wars have yet to overcome. According to Neal, the effects of trauma, whether physical, cultural, or individual cannot be suppressed. Since his thoughts are extremely important to the present project, they will be quoted at length:

The enduring effects of a trauma in the memories of an individual resemble the enduring effects of a national trauma in collective consciousness. Dismissing or ignoring the traumatic experience is not a reasonable option. The conditions surrounding a trauma are played and replayed in consciousness through an attempt to extract some sense of coherence from a meaningless experience. When the event is dismissed

from consciousness, it resurfaces in feelings of anxiety and despair. Just as a rape victim becomes permanently changed as a result of the trauma, the nation becomes permanently changed as a result of a trauma in the social realm (Alexander et al 2004, 41-42).

If Neal's ideas apply to nations, cannot the same be said for groups within that nation that experience cultural trauma and/or cultural defeat? Since 1954, or even earlier, from a white nationalist perspective, the racist right has been losing ground to the evil forces of socialism, "cultural Marxism" and other forces that they believe to be destroying their race. In their discourse, they are involved in an apocalyptic struggle for the survival of their race.<sup>101</sup> Therefore, the despair at losing these battles results in an expression of trauma, whether it be hiding on Internet forums, engaging in LARPing/fantasy role-playing, 'flipping out' and committing murder like Glenn Miller and Dylann Roof, or writing novels that will provide a mythological framework for a new nation.

To continue with the most popular themes in white nationalist fiction, one of the most fascinating and understudied aspects of white nationalism concerns: (c) a flash of cosmic clarity leading to self-sacrifice to save the white race or a part of it (examples: the aforementioned Felix Hyde, the aforementioned Kicky McGee, the aforementioned Jeff Huxton, and Georgia Myers in H. A. Covington's *Freedom's Sons*, among others), (d) the ability of small groups to fight and win if their "courage holds" (examples: the Northwest Volunteer Army in H. A. Covington's 'North-west Novels,' the Nationalists in William R. Twiford's *Sown in the Darkness*, A. D. 2000, the Center of Solutrean Studies in *White Apocalypse* by Kyle Bristow, among others). All of these subjects assign significance to whites banding together against a common enemy and whites realizing that their 'blood' and its 'spirit' belong with other whites, which is oftentimes accompanied by the 'flash of cosmic consciousness' mentioned in (c).

## 2.4 In Search of a 'Literary Psychohistory': A Recapitulation

While it is true that Michael Kimmel's assessment of radical right movements is more or less accurate when he stated that these movements "are almost always nostalgic, seeking to restore something that has been lost rather than create something new. Words like *restoration*, *reclamation*, *retrieval*, and *revival* saturate white supremacist discourse," in recent years, the

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<sup>101</sup> See H. A. Covington, "The Brandenburg Lectures," *Northwest Observer* #112 (November 2011), 4, 13, 14 and Rev. Robert Miles, "A Klansman's Guide to the Fifth Era," *Northwest Observer* #133 (August 2013), 13.

novels produced by the racial right have added other words to Kimmel's list, *rebellion* and ultimately, *revolution* (Kimmel 2013, 264). At their most basic, white nationalist novels, taken as a whole, are about redemption—redemption of the main character, redemption of the American dream and ultimately, redemption of the white race. To achieve this redemption, a revolution within part of American society, American white society, or, at the very least, a significant sector of working class white society must occur. This revolution first involves a revolution of white spirit, then an actual rebellion against the prevailing American society, bringing about a white nationalist revolution or separation of part of the United States for a whites-only homeland. Bearing this in mind, this section will propose a new theory that will underpin the examination of novels to follow in the next chapter.

To understand the theory, the following aspects need to be borne in mind: (a) the loss of the various 'culture wars' and the rise of political correctness has created a malaise among various sectors of the white population, but mostly among conservative, traditionalists who are predominantly lower to upper middle class, (b) this malaise is expressed in diverse ways, the most obvious and permanent is the writing of novels by the more radical individuals among whites, (c) the 'Other' is not only the 'obvious' enemies of the white race according to the authors, i.e. Jews, blacks, Political leftists of various sorts but white character as well, so the novels call for a revitalization of the white 'character,' one that harkens back to the 'warrior ethos' of the Waffen SS, Confederates and Vikings—the three main white warrior ethos that white nationalism reveres, (d) following (c), gender relationships in the genre posit a 'traditional' relationship with the man at the center of the family—the 'head,' the woman as the 'heart' and children. So, the collapse of the American Dream among the white population with the resultant fear and trepidation towards the future has resulted in an outpouring of grief and hope in the form of white nationalist novels. These novels, depending on the author, analyze the situation the white race in the United States is in and envision a way out of the present situation with certain precepts that are constant—redemption, rebellion, resistance to political correctness, and restoration of the white race's evolutionary path in the United States, which has been 'derailed' since 1912, 1914, 1945 or 1954, depending on the author.

The theory posits the following position: the novels of the white nationalist movement should be read as artifacts of a movement that is experiencing cultural trauma, that trauma is caused by various factors, not the least of which is the perception that WASP values are no

longer of value in multicultural America, hence many white Americans feel a displacement in their own country as they see or believe they see their values being crushed by the inexorable forces of change. The cartoon below emphasizes this point:



In *Not Cool: The Hipster Elite and Their War on You*, Greg Gutfeld exposes what he believes to be the problem with the United States—the ‘coolerati,’ as he calls them—those people who deem it necessary to impose their vision of ‘cool’ onto the rest of society. In the chapter entitled “The Guilty Parties,” Gutfeld eviscerates some of the more bizarre aspects of the current ‘cool’ infatuation with political correctness. While Gutfeld is a self-described ‘conservative’ and ‘libertarian,’ he does describe one of the most bizarre cases of ‘white guilt’ when describing the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction’s attempt to remind their employees about ‘white privilege’ by “suggesting that some of their white workers ‘wear a white wristband as a reminder about our privilege.’ And by privilege, they mean the many advantages white people have over all People of Color. We are now at a time when being born white is a fundamentally racist act. If you are white, just by procreating, your parents committed, or rather produced, a hate crime” (Gutfeld 2014, 155). What no one seemed to notice is that by wearing

<sup>102</sup> Editorial cartoon used for reference and scholarly purposes only. All rights held by the copyright holder.

Although the author has tried on numerous occasions to track down the cartoonist who drew the editorial cartoon and which publication holds the copyright, no reference has been found on the Internet. If the cartoonist is known to the reader, please contact the author through the publisher.

these ‘white wristbands’ it marked them, just as surely as the yellow Star of David marked Jews in Nazi Germany and Nazi-occupied Europe. This idea, along with other ideologies associated with ‘white guilt’ as it is termed has become a mantra by which whites, as a whole, are judged. If you believe in ‘white guilt’ you are progressive, if you do not, you are a racist. In this sense, white nationalists seem to be against being singled out for the supposed ‘crimes’ of their ancestors. Reinforcing this point is Kevin Beary’s 1998 novel, *The Savaged States of America*. Beary envisions an America divided into separate ethnic states, with a ‘rump’ America—the Corridor—being ruled by a matriarchy that has adopted the entire range of politically correct “virtues,” including “white guilt”:

For the first time in human history, humankind had righted two historic wrongs: the destruction of the Mexica Empire by Cortes and his gold-thirsty adventurers, and the enslavement of the African race by white devils[...]To give a people back their own destiny, to be able to say, “Yes, we recognize that our forebears sinned, but we their children will atone for their sins, and to make things right again”—that was surely the most glorious occurrence in human history, the goal of any sincere politics. ..Goddess, if She did exist, had created humankind and then political left the poor wretches on their own. And what a sorry job men had made of history. .. Only now had the female—the creative, the nurturing, the spiritual force in nature—finally come into her own. All the wrongs committed in millennia of male folly were finally to be rectified (Beary 1998, 85).

While Gutfeld and Beary both attacked the ‘coolerati’ and the accompanying ideology of political correctness with its adherence to ‘white guilt’ in their books, the 1998 book by social commentator Jim Goad, *The Redneck Manifesto: How Hillbillies, Hicks and Rednecks Became America’s Whipping Boy* also highlights certain white working class animosities at the ‘elites’ on both coasts. From a slightly different perspective, Goad’s writing simplifies the animosity that some in the white working class have against the ‘liberal’ elites:

The steaming liberal revulsion for white trash evaporates under the high- friction heat of its own illogic. The liberal class analysis crumbles when viewed under the light of [...]well, the liberal class analysis. This “analysis” willingly understands the economic imperatives behind urban street gangs but not rural moonshiners. It embraces Crips and Bloods but not the Hatfields and McCoys. It “celebrates diversity” yet consistently frowns on the experience of the white working class (Goad 1998, 22).

This seeming double standard that Goad accuses white liberals of taking as regards poor whites/ ‘white trash’ echoes some of the accusations leveled against the Freedman’s Bureau in the Reconstruction South, with Northern white ‘liberals’ helping former slaves but not helping their ‘racial brethren’ in the South. This accusation reinforces the white nationalist idea that every white person has a ‘racial spirit’ but that liberalism and its accompanying ideologies of diversity and multiculturalism ‘enchant’ whites with the illusion of nonracial attitudes and that ‘everyone’



is the same under the skin. He also succinctly cuts through much of the discourse revolving around ‘white privilege’ when he writes:

The ‘neck-haters’ habitually argue that rednecks are merely disgruntled reactionaries fearful about losing their power at the hands of noble, triumphant, liberally uplifted third World peasants. I arise from the muck like the Loch Ness Monster and snap back angrily that rednecks never—neither her nor in Europe— had anything that may properly be called a grip on power. [...] Power to distill whiskey, yes; power to declare it illegal, no. For they *know* the white-boy hegira has been one huge, monolithic coconut popsicle of skin privilege, and that any white guys who didn’t make it in this country must have been stupid. When they talk about “equality,” it’s phrased strictly in racial and gender terms, as if white males ever had true equality among themselves, as if the white-male experience in America has been one uninterrupted vanilla holiday. [...] If equality doesn’t exist *within* a race, how can it exist *among* races? (Goad 1998, 39-40, 243)

This seems to be one of the most interesting aspects that Goad points out. While Goad is more a reactionary than a white nationalist, his writings have been mostly ignored by the academics that are supposed to be studying the white nationalist movement; however, he taps into the heart of what it means to be poor and white in America. Again, he elucidates a very interesting point as regards the urban elites’ supposed scorn for the rural population that is disdainfully called ‘flyover country’:

America’s hate affair with white trash is, ultimately, self-hatred. Guilt projection. A convenient way for America to demonize itself, or, rather, to exorcise the demon and place it somewhere outside of itself. In giving fangs to rednecks, Americans have defanged all the white-barbarian tendencies they fear within themselves. [...] I think it’s just as easy to argue that America, particularly the non-Southern areas, has a *Deliverance* complex. Urban America may subconsciously fear a mass invasion of stubble-chinned rural degenerates eager to settle the score. (Goad 1998, 100)

Indeed, it is the idea of ‘revenge’ against the people who have denigrated ‘their’ culture, hobbies, morals and values that is one of the most obvious aspects of contemporary white nationalist novels. Goad states in a few sentences the psychological essence of many white nationalist novels—revenge and hatred—hatred for the contemporary world of multiculturalism, diversity and “cultural Marxism” and the sense of wanting to avenge the imagined slights that the white race in America has endured since 1954 or even earlier, depending on the author. Among white nationalist authors and intellectuals, there is an ever-growing trend toward analyzing what has happened to the white race in America since 1954. Dr. Brent Nelson in his essay “Why the Apathy” elucidates the white nationalist position, and hence is quoted at length:

Moreover, the ruling elite, whether or not it is of European origin, greatly fears civil disorder. Threats of disorder from the Third World underclass generally result in compromise, if not total capitulation. Any evidence of militancy on the part of European Americans generates an extreme overreaction from the ruling elite. The elite will mobilize literally thousands of police and military to subdue a mere half- dozen supposed “white supremacists” in Idaho or Montana. [...] It is also likely that the ruling elite recognizes that the Apathy [sic] of the European American middle mass is simply a mask for a much deeper layer of alienation or estrangement from the system. Beneath this alienation lurks, or so the elite fears, a seething mix of fear and anger. (Nelson 2013,16)

While a certain portion of white America seems to be suffering from a malaise of cultural trauma, this portion is also the most heavily armed and, in the past, the most willing to use its guns to change the system when it was deemed necessary. While the leaders of the American Revolution were the aristocracy of their day, in the South, many of the Patriots were the ‘backwoods’ types who knew how to use guns and were prepared to use them. Even earlier in colonial rural North and South Carolina, the Regulator movement was comprised of men on the edges of civilized colonial society who resented the Eastern aristocrats telling them how to live their lives, what they should do, where they should not go, etc. After the American Civil War and the trauma that was unleashed on the South by the war, the Reconstruction era Ku Klux Klan arose to fight against, what it saw, as elite Northern interference with Southern institutions, namely the attempted racial and societal leveling. Indeed, before the contemporary era, every societal change has produced a backlash from the ‘racialist’ right.

However, as will be seen in Chapter Four, the novels written by the racist right, as seen through the prism of the theory outlined in this chapter and the following chapter, show a specific form of trauma that has expressed itself in a combination of wish fulfillment, redemptive collectivism and in presenting the mythological foundations of a new ‘nation,’ depending on the novel under examination. These novels illuminate the worldview of American white nationalism at the time of their writing; however, they also show a portion of American society that has yet to come to grips with its defeated culture. Furthermore, the shame at being denigrated and desire for vengeance because of that denigration also shines through the prisms of remembrance, redemption and revolution.

### 3. In the Wake of Defeat: Towards the Birth of the Literature of Trauma

*You created "us" when you attacked our freedom of speech.  
 You created "us" when you attacked our right to bear arms.  
 You created "us" when you attacked our Christian beliefs.  
 You created "us" when you constantly referred to us as racists.  
 You created "us" when you constantly called us xenophobic.  
 You created "us" when you told us to get on board or get out of the way.  
 You created "us" when you attacked our way of life.<sup>103</sup>*

*There is a peculiar kind of vehemence, a main ingredient of our literature, which can be achieved only by Americans disillusioned with America.<sup>104</sup>*

This chapter sets forth the proposition that with every victory of progressive politics within current American society, collectively the far/racist/Constitutionalist/Patriot right relive the trauma that was experienced by the Confederate South, meaning those that supported the Confederate cause and Ku Klux Klan during the subsequent years of Reconstruction. The feelings experienced by the former Confederates included defeat, humiliation, and loss of manhood and/or loss of self, as explained by the ex-Confederates and current neo-Confederates themselves.<sup>105</sup> As remarked by Thomas L. Connelly and Barbara L. Bellows in their *God and General Longstreet: The Lost Cause and the Southern Mind*, “The greatest calamity was the absolute shock of defeat. A nation that worshipped success was spiritually unprepared for the trauma of being the loser” (Connelly and Bellows 1982, 10). These same feelings were explored

<sup>103</sup> Anonymous, “Dear Democrats and Liberals: You don't seem to be graciously accepting defeat . . .”, SuperStation95, <https://www.superstation95.com/index.php/world/2436>. A letter from an anonymous Donald Trump supporter to Internet radio station ‘Superstation 95’ (access: 11.11.2016).

<sup>104</sup> Perry Miller quoted in Jonathan P. Spiro, *Defending the Master Race: Conservation, Eugenics, and the Legacy of Madison Grant* (University of Vermont Press, 2009), 143.

<sup>105</sup> For an overview, see William C. Davis, *Look Away!: A History of the Confederate States of America* (The Free Press, 2002), in particular Chapter 14: *The End?* and Daniel W. Stowell, *Rebuilding Zion: The Religious Reconstruction of the South, 1863-1877* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), particularly Chapter 1: ‘God’s Wrath: Disruption, Destruction and Confusion in Southern Religious Life.’ For a more personal account, see Marley Brant, *The Outlaw Youngers: A Biography* (Chatham, MD: Madison Books, 1992), and T. J. Stiles, *Jesse James: Last Rebel of the Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003), particularly Part Three: ‘Defiance: 1865-1876.’ For a more detailed examination, see Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), particularly Part One: ‘Coming to Terms with Defeat, 1865-1885,’ and Anne Sarah Rubin, *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-1868* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), in particular Chapter 4: ‘Blue Black is Our Horizon: The End of the War,’ Chapter 5: ‘Nursing the Embers: Race and Politics during Reconstruction’ and Interlude: ‘To Receive the Oath and Brand of Slave.’ For a neo-Confederate perspective, see Michael Andrew Grissom, *Southern By the Grace of God* (Rebel Press, 1988), particularly Chapter V: ‘Reconstruction—Nightmare of the South’ and, by the same author, *The Last Rebel Yell* (Rebel Press, 1991), in particular Chapter VIII: ‘Why We Are Still Fighting the War’.

by James Gibson in his book *Warrior Dreams: Manhood and Violence in Post-Vietnam America*, which explored the ‘new war’ waged within the pages of pulp paperbacks and ‘men’s’ adventure magazines in post-Vietnam War America to try and make sense of the defeat in that particular war. In this work, the feelings of ‘displaced’ anger at having been defeated both in the context of the Confederacy and in the various culture wars that have erupted in post-Vietnam War America serve as an interesting prism by which the shock of defeat is examined.<sup>106</sup> Displaced anger, in the psychological context serves as a basis by which the aggrieved or defeated party views others as the cause of their defeat and is a psychological ploy by which defeat is understood.

### 3.1 In Search of the Mindset of Traumatic Defeat

While this idea may seem new, there are several precedents in Western culture and history that support the idea that historical trauma can lay dormant for decades or even centuries and then, provoked by a new feeling of humiliation and/or the threat of physical extermination of the nation/collective, erupt suddenly and violently. As regards the current project, that trauma is a result of not only the shock of defeat but the feeling of shame and humiliation at the loss of self/loss of masculinity that accompanied the defeat of the South and the ‘Radical Reconstruction’ of 1867-1878 that saw the forced attempt to overturn the South’s racial and social order, with a delayed *levee en masse* as Wolfgang Schivelbusch described the rise and success of the Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan (Schivelbusch 2003, 10). While some contemporary researchers of the far-right, Michael Kimmel, Jessie Daniels and others mentioned in Chapters One and Two have associated white nationalist rhetoric with the patriarchy and the loss of place, position, the psychological mechanism by which these “rebels against the dream” operate is far more complex. However, while the idea that historical memory can survive hundreds of years may seem impossible in the current ahistorical modern Western society, it must be reinforced that ‘historical memory’ at a loss of ‘national’ self or a humiliation by military defeat and occupation has formed the national psyche of more than one nation; the best examples in the light of the theoretical focus in this chapter are Serbia and Ireland.

Among the various examples that could be used, two of the better known ones will suffice to illustrate the process. The first is the defeat of the medieval Serbian Empire on the field

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<sup>106</sup> James W. Gibson, *Warrior Dreams: Violence and Manhood in Post-Vietnam America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994).

of Kosovo Polje—the Field of Blackbirds—in 1389. The humiliation felt by the Serbian nation’s occupation by the Ottoman Empire for over 400 years (while under Russian tutelage and given relative autonomy in 1808, Serbia did not achieve full independence until 1878) was engrained into the psyche of the nation, particularly among those labelled as nationalists. This feeling of humiliation and the accompanying feelings of revenge came to the fore not only during the Balkan Wars, World Wars One and Two but more importantly, in the Bosnian War of 1992-1995, where Serbian commanders and soldiers routinely labelled their Bosnian Muslim opponents ‘Turks.’ Furthermore, the Serbian nationalists called their Croatian enemies ‘Ustasha,’ invoking national memories of the persecution of the Serbian minority by the NDH—the Independent State of Croatia during World War Two. The Ustasha were a notorious terrorist organization headed by Ante Pavelić that was instrumental in assassinating the King of Yugoslavia in 1934 and who ruled the NDH with a terror that shocked the Nazis. For their part, Croatian nationalists also retaliated by calling the Serbian paramilitaries and the Federal Yugoslav Army ‘Chetniks,’ harkening back to World War Two where a veritable civil war raged in Bosnia between the various German backed militias—the Croatian Ustasha, the Serbian Chetniks and the Bosnian Muslim Village Defence Force, along with Tito’s Partisans, and the Italian Army (until 1943 when the Italian Army surrendered, and either retreated back to Italy or were interned by the Germans).<sup>107</sup>

The second example is the IRA—the Irish Republican Army. While modern in their formal establishment and communist in their political orientation, the ‘Hats’ grew out of the Easter Rebellion of 1916 and the Irish Civil War of 1920-1922, and the mythology surrounding the group can be traced to those elements within the Irish Catholic community that feel that they have been involved in a colonial struggle against an oppressor since the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. Failed rebellions in 1798 (which included some Irish Protestants) and 1916, the famous Easter Rebellion, along with the massive potato famine of the 1830s and Cromwell’s ‘plantation’ system of the 1650s have political left various historical scars on the Irish national psyche that

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<sup>107</sup> For a brief history of the troubled region of Kosova/Kosovo, see Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 1998). For Bosnia, see the same author, *Bosnia: A Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 1994). The academic writing on World War Two in the Former Yugoslavia is voluminous; however, several books stand out, at least in English—Jozo Tomasevich’s study on the Chetniks *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941-1945: The Chetniks* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975), along with his massive study on the Ustasha and the NDH, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941-1945: Occupation and Collaboration* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001) will provide the reader with a basis to understand the complexities surrounding the cauldron of historical memory regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina and the states of the Former Yugoslavia during World War Two.

have yet to heal.<sup>108</sup> Perhaps on the surface, these historical events are forgotten or, at best, are unimportant in contemporary Irish society, although Irish nationalists, like Serbian nationalists keep the trauma alive in their songs and stories. As history has shown, national humiliations can erupt violently when the nation goes through a period of destabilization such as economic collapse or internal political strife.

Within the context of this work, American white nationalist authors continually reinforce the idea that contemporary American society is humiliating their beliefs, and, by extension, attacking their manhood with its insistence on multiculturalism, pansexuality, and rights for everyone but them. The feelings of shame at not only having one's beliefs belittled or demonized, along with popular American culture's insistence that white men are the epitome of racist, sexist, homophobic attitudes has shamed and confused many white men as to their proper place in American society.<sup>109</sup> As will be seen, this confusion can lead to shame and a loss of self-respect and as noted prison psychologist James Gilligan has pointed out, violence in American society stems from a perceived loss of self-respect.<sup>110</sup> To highlight this point, Gilligan points to a prisoner in the prison where he worked that became ever more violent with his encounters with correction officers. When the prisoner was interviewed by Gilligan as to the cause of his violent behavior and asked what he wanted, the prisoner responded:

"Pride. Dignity. Self-esteem." And then he went on to say, more clearly than ever before: "And I'll kill every motherfucker in that cell block if I have to in order to get it! My life ain't worth nothin' if I take somebody disrespectin' me and callin' me punk asshole faggot and goin' 'Ha! Ha!' at me. Life ain't worth livin' if there ain't nothin' worth dyin' for. If you ain't got pride, you got nothin'." (Gilligan 1997, 106).

Taking the above quote as the starting point for the discussion of this chapter, it also sheds a new light on the cultural battles within the United States, as the current discussion over the place of the various Confederate symbols and what the white nationalists see as the demonization of straight, white males as the wellspring of all that is evil and wrong in American culture and

<sup>108</sup> As with the previous issue, the writing on the various Irish uprisings and historical memory is wide-ranging; however, the following works will provide the reader with a basis for further study: Tim Pat Coogan, *The IRA: A History* (London: Fontana, 1971), reprinted in several editions. For the Easter Rebellion, see Fearghal McGarry, *Rebels: Voices from the Easter Rising* (London: Penguin, 2012). For Cromwell's invasion of Ireland, see Denis Main Ross Esson, *The Curse of Cromwell: The Ironside Conquest of Ireland, 1649-1653* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 1971) and Tom Reilly, *Cromwell: An Honorable Enemy—The Untold Story of the Cromwellian Invasion of Ireland* (London: Phoenix, 2001). For an Irish perspective, see Michael O' Siochru, *God's Executioner: Oliver Cromwell and the Conquest of Ireland* (London: Faber & Faber, 2008).

<sup>109</sup> In essence, the novels presented in Chapter Four will provide the reader with a sense of what white nationalist's feel and think about the current wave of hysteria that seems to have engulfed American whites since the end of the Civil Rights Era.

<sup>110</sup> James Gilligan, *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997).

society. In the context of the quote that began this chapter, an essay appeared on various right-wing websites that reinforces the idea that the desire for self-respect and the hindrance of trauma are at the core of the white nationalist mindset. Within the context of the below quote and the quote that headed this chapter, it is important to bear in mind that the overwhelming majority of the privately held firearms within the United States are in the hands of the same group that feels it has been demonized in the mass media for over three decades.<sup>111</sup> As stated in the Internet essay “The Angry Man,” some American white males appear to be becoming tired of being the object of jokes and the epitome of all that is wrong in American society:

The Angry Man owns firearms, and he’s willing to pick up a gun and use it in defense of his home, his country and his family. He is willing to lay down his life to defend the freedom and safety of others [...] Mostly, it’s the blatantly arrogant attitude displayed implying that we are too stupid to run our own lives and only people in government and academia are smart enough to do that. The Angry Man has reached his limit. When a social justice agitator goes on TV, leading some rally for Black Lives Matter, safe spaces or other such nonsense, he may bite his tongue, but he remembers. When a child gets charged with carrying a concealed weapon for mistakenly bringing a penknife to school, he takes note of who the local idiots are in education and law enforcement. (Anonymous, “Angry” 2016, 14–15)

Following the above quote, this chapter examines the overwhelming desire for self-respect and the rejection that white nationalists have regarding their unapologetic way of thinking. Basically, they reject current America’s society’s attempts to shame them into ‘towing the line’ and believing that people “[...] will be judged not by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.”<sup>112</sup> Therefore, this chapter starts with a short history of white nationalist fiction, then proceeds to outline how the various cycles of American white nationalist fiction have evoked memories of the trauma, ‘re-kindling’ as it were, white nationalist fears at a loss of manhood and re-stoking fears of annihilation at the hands of the ‘Others.’ Finally, this chapter ends with a theory of how and why national/racial trauma is not easy to forget or salve over, which leads to an analysis of the novels in Chapter Four.

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<sup>111</sup> For the history and culture of guns in the United States, see *Gun Show Nation: Gun Culture and American Democracy* by Joan Burbick (New York: The New Press, 2006), Clayton E. Cramer, *Armed America: The Story of How and Why Guns Became as American as Apple Pie* (New York: Nelson Current, 2006) and Jen E. Dizard, Robert Merrill Muth and Stephen P. Andrews, editors, *Guns in America: A Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 1999). For race and gun ownership, see <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/07/15/the-demographics-and-politics-of-gun-owning-households/>, <http://demographicpartitions.org/gun-owners/>, <http://www.vox.com/2015/12/4/9849524/gun-race-statistics>, and finally, <http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2013/06/12/gun-owners-still-overwhelmingly-white-males>.

<sup>112</sup> Taken from Martin Luther King’s famous ‘I Have a Dream’ speech on August 28, 1963 in front of the Lincoln Memorial on the Capitol Mall in Washington, D.C. The full quote: “I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.”

The retriggering of trauma seems to occur with every victory of the progressive Political left, therefore, it would behoove any researcher of the racist right to examine the various cycles of white nationalist novels and how they fit into the idea of the perceived loss of manhood and loss of self-esteem/loss of self-respect/loss of self as painted by the novelists. Consequently, the next subchapter will examine the various milieus of white nationalist fiction, starting with the Redeemer/Klan Apologia literature which ended with the 1939 publication of Thomas Dixon's last novel, *The Flaming Sword*. Combining and overlapping with the Redeemer literature was the rise of the Yellow Peril, Red Scare, and White Slavery novels; this cycle ended with the publication of 1941's *Sown in the Darkness, A. D. 2000*, authored by William R. Twiford. The next cycle starts with the publication of *The Turner Diaries* in 1978 to the publication of Harold Covington's *The Hill of the Ravens* and Gregory Kay's *The Third Revolution*, both published in 2004. At present, the current cycle has yet to end, although it remains to be seen how the 2016 presidential victory of Donald J. Trump and the 'alt-right' will affect this latest cycle of white nationalist novels, which are more white separatist than white supremacist.

### **3.2 Traumatic Turns. Identifying the Cycles of White Nationalist Writing**

As was surveyed in the preceding chapter, Wolfgang Schivelbusch's analysis of the defeated South reinforces the idea that the psychological trauma of defeat felt by the South and those former Confederates were of overwhelming importance in understanding the psychology of defeat, and the rise of the white nationalist right during the years of the Jazz Era and after the 'second Reconstruction' of the Civil Rights era. Indeed, it is this trauma that played a major part in the rise of the 'political' Ku Klux Klan, after its founding in December of 1865. While the various Klan groups fought against the Reconstruction efforts of the immediate postwar period, it is the memory of the losses of the Confederacy and how the Klan was remembered that are of overriding importance. After the victory of the Redeemers—the so-called planter class elite of the post-Reconstruction South, and the establishment of Jim Crow—it seemed as if the South would never change. However, by the 1920s and the accompanying loosening of morality in the cities of the North and West, along with the backlash of violence of the Klan of that era which can be viewed as an example of this feeling of shame—meaning, to regain their manhood, the Jazz-era Klan embarked on a wave of violence to reinforce the social order they felt was necessary to 'save' the United States and, more importantly, white women from the 'evils' of the



period. Following the 2<sup>nd</sup> era Klan, the rise of the Black Legion in Detroit during the 1930s, along with the revanche movement of the Civil Rights era Ku Klux Klan and their fight against the ‘second Reconstruction,’ along with the rise of The Order in the 1980s and, finally, the ‘artefacts’ of white nationalist novels of the current era are also cases in which expressions of this loss of manhood, shame at being defeated, and fear of ‘their’ country, ‘their’ culture and/or ‘their’ race being annihilated are espoused.

The various cycles or periods that white nationalist fiction has gone through is viewed as a prism by which a particular sector of society has viewed the changes that the United States has gone through over the past 150 years. The Redeemer novels of the immediate post-Reconstruction period were an attempt at explaining the American Civil War and the revolt of the Ku Klux Klan against the widely hated Reconstruction Acts that were passed by Congress in an attempt to overthrow the South’s racial and social order. While the last Redeemer novel was published in posthumously in 1924—Thomas Nelson Page’s *Red Riders*—in essence this cycle dovetailed with several other trends in fringe American fiction—the White Slave novels of the late 1890s, the Yellow Peril and various utopian/dystopian novels of the same period and finally, the first upsurge of Red Scare novels. This period ended with the publication of Richard W. Twiford’s *Sown in the Darkness, A. D. 2000* in 1941. After the Second World War and the resulting economic prosperity of the 1950s, it seemed as if white nationalist fiction was a ‘dead’ genre in American literature, as many of its themes were taken over by the various pulp writers like Mickey Spillane, who’s main hero, Mike Hammer, advocated many of the same positions as extreme American nationalists, anti-Communism, vigilante justice, and a very extreme form of chivalry. However, the rise of the Civil Rights movement in the South, with the accompanying rise of that era’s Ku Klux Klan and the battles that finally reconstructed the South brought about a new form of white nationalist fiction that combined many of the features of the former cycle but added a new enemy—Jews. The publication of William L. Pierce’s (*nom de plume* Andrew MacDonald) *The Turner Diaries* in 1978 in book form marked the return of white nationalist fiction and sparked the ‘anti-PC’ trend within the genre. This cycle ended in 2004 with the publication of two white separatist sagas—the first volume of the *Northwest Novels*—H. A. Covington’s *The Hill of the Ravens* and the first volume of Gregory Kay’s *The Third Revolution*.<sup>113</sup> The publication of these two novels heralded the start of the present cycle, the

<sup>113</sup> It is this cycle that is probably the most important as the novels that populate it are the most revolutionary and the most vocal in sketching out who exactly the enemies of the white race are, according to the authors, what the

separatist cycle. It is this cycle that is the most revolutionary of all the various cycles of white nationalist fiction.

It is against the backdrop of such a general overview of how the important historical turns coincided with—and energized—the development of subsequent cycles of white nationalist writing that a more detailed, albeit nutshell, presentation of the history of white nationalist novel should prove productive in terms of the recognition of the rhetorical markers of repressed trauma in particular works.

### **3.2.1 Cycle One: The Rumbblings of Discontent. Pre-Civil War—Southern Nationalist Novels (1834–1860).**

White nationalist novels in America start with the so-called Convent Exposés from the Early Republic period. The heyday of these ‘exposes’ was in the 1830s, which also saw the publication in 1834 of the first novel that predicted the American Civil War and the establishment of the Southern Confederacy, *The Partisan Leader* by Beverley Tucker. This was also the start of the nascent nativist movement in the form of the Know Nothing Party and its fellow travelers. Indeed, while the Convent Exposés set the stage for the further development of white nationalist novels examined in this project, it is the ‘Know Nothing Party’ that were the philosophical ‘grandfathers’ of the various nativist incarnations of the political fringe, including the more recent Tea Party, the isolationist wing of the Libertarian Party, the John Birch Society of the 1950s and 1960s, the Jazz Era Ku Klux Klan and various others. Regardless of their racial philosophies, these nativist movements informed the far-right with their conspiratorial bent and their insistence on a federal government that was being undermined or perhaps, supporting—as in the case of the John Birch Society—helping to undermine the American way of life because of its support for unchecked immigration. In that, the nativist movements have viewed themselves as the ‘canaries in the coalmine’ warning the wider American public to the dangers of unchecked immigration, particularly from Catholic countries, which is what the danger that scurrilous novels like *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* and other such exposes espoused.

The Convent Exposés are important because they establish, to a certain extent, the plots, characters and philosophical underpinnings of the early white nationalist novels published at the

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alternatives are for whites and Western civilization in general, and how the changes that the novels advocate can be achieved. Therefore, in its analytical chapters, this work concentrates on the novels from this period, namely those by the prolific H. A. Covington, who has authored seventeen novels, the aforementioned Gregory Kay, along with Lloyd Lenard, author of *The Last Confederate Flag* (published in 2001), Kyle Bristow, author of 2011’s *White Apocalypse* and Ward Kendall, author of 1999’s *Hold Back This Day*.

turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Basically, the underpinnings of white nationalist novels have various pillars—the Convent Exposés, the Black Scare/Klan Apologia novels of the 1880s-1920s, the first Red Scare novels of the 1920s and the Yellow Peril novels of the 1880s-1940 which form the novels’ philosophical support structure. Tucker’s novel, by contrast, set the precedent of authors imagining a small, dedicated group of revolutionaries attacking a centralized authority in an attempt to break away parts of the United States. The end of this first proto-white nationalist fiction cycle was capped off by the publication in 1860 of Edmund Ruffin’s *Anticipations of the Future*. The plot of this particular novel revolves around a British newspaper reporter’s stories from the frontlines of the American Civil War. As opined by Fred Hobson, Ruffin’s novel is best understood as “the wish fulfillment of Edmund Ruffin” (Hobson, “Anticipations of the Future,” title).<sup>114</sup>

### 3.2.2 Cycle Two: The Passion to Illuminate. Klan Apologia/Redeemer Fiction (1882-1924)

The next cycle of proto-white nationalist novels came out of the post-Reconstruction South and reinforced the features established for the genre in the Convent Exposés and the novels of Tucker and Ruffin, those being: racial separation, redemption, rebellion against those who would upset the ‘natural’ racial order, in the Klan Apologia novels of this period the ‘scalawag’ and the ‘carpetbagger,’ in contrast to the heroes being characters of sterling moral fiber/character, and plots based around the main character coming to realize his/her ‘racial’ calling. During this period, the novels of W. J. Pearson *Well Nigh Reconstructed*—1880, N. J. Floyd—*Thorns in the Flesh*—1884, and Thomas’ *Ku Klux Klan No. 40: A Novel*—1898, along with the writings of Thomas Nelson Page—*Red Riders*—1899, and *Red Rock: A Chronicle of Reconstruction*—1922, set the major tone for the genre, while none achieved the success of Thomas Dixon Jr.’s ‘Reconstruction Trilogy’—*The Leopard’s Spots*—1902, *The Clansman*—1905, *The Traitor*—1907—which established Dixon as the premiere author of the first decade of the new century, while also giving the ideas of white nationalism/white supremacy a national forum with which it spread to influence the establishment of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Era or ‘Jazz Age’ Ku Klux Klan. Whereas the Jazz Age KKK was influenced and became popular in part because of Dixon, he repudiated the 2<sup>nd</sup> Era Klan in his 1924 novel *The Black Hood*.

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<sup>114</sup> Fred Hobson, ““Anticipations of the Future”; Or the Wish-Fulfillment of Edmund Ruffin,” *The Southern Literary Journal*, vol. 10, No. 1 [Fall 1977], pp. 84-91.

While the reading public's taste changed from the first decade of the new century through to the second and third, a number of novels were published that reinforced white nationalist ideals. Some novels focused on the old bugaboos of African-Americans but others started to expand their 'enemies list' to include Communists and Asians. The famous Red Scare and Yellow Peril novels of this period also reflected the U.S.'s changing roles in world affairs, the rise of Communism, and immigration from Asia. Novels such as Thomas Dixon's *The Fall of a Nation* (1916), and Floyd Gibbons *The Red Napoleon* (first published in *Collier's Magazine* in serial form in 1922, then in book form in 1929), along with J. Allan Dunn's *The Peril of the Pacific* (1916 in serial form, published in book form in 2011) envisioned the United States being invaded by various enemies, mostly from the Asia but in Dixon's case, from Europe.<sup>115</sup> This trope of an invasion from Europe would continue to be featured in pulp fiction up to the present day, with the publication of James Wesley Rawles' *Patriots* novels, which envisages the United States being invaded by U.N. 'peacekeepers' from the E.U. who are under the control of European bankers ('bankers' normally is a code-word in white nationalist circles for 'Jews'). This cycle of novels peaked in 1941 with the publication of William R. Twiford's *Sown in the Darkness, A.D. 2000* which was one of the first, if not the first 'racist' science fiction novel. Though apparently forgotten by scholars at present, Twiford's novel contains all the elements that make it an exceptional white nationalist novel—the redemption of one of the main characters, Felix Hyde, who turns his back on 'Cosmocracy' (Communism) to become a born-again Christian dedicated to the survival of the white race, and the expulsion of non-whites (including Jews, who are labeled "Gypsies" in the novel) from the territory of the United States. The exposure of the hypocrisy of the progressive Political left is an important theme in this novel and hence, becomes an important feature in subsequent white nationalist fiction. Finally, Twiford's novel features a small cadre of 'Nationalists,' under the leadership of a man of impeccable honor and courage, who fight the Cosmocrats (and a "Yellow Asian" Cosmocrat invasion) and who eventually take over the government of the United States, turning it into an all-white country.

Finally, Thomas Dixon's last novel, *The Flaming Sword* must be mentioned as his novel perfectly bookends the first three cycles of white nationalist fiction. After all, if white nationalist fiction has a 'father,' it is Thomas Dixon. *The Flaming Sword* (published in 1939) was Dixon's

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<sup>115</sup> Thomas Dixon, Jr., *The Fall of A Nation: A Sequel to The Birth of A Nation* (Chicago: M. A. Donohue, 1916), Floyd Gibbons, *The Red Napoleon* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1929), J. Allan Dunn, *The Peril of the Pacific* (Elkhorn, CA: Off-Trail, 2011).

answer to his critics. As a novel, it failed because, as mentioned above, reading styles had changed from the time Dixon published *The Leopard's Spots* in 1902. However, from the perspective of white nationalism, particularly before the advent of George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party, Dixon's final novel was a success, as it perfectly shows the various themes that appeal to white nationalists—redemption, the superiority of the white race, the failure of 'anti-American' forces against the forces that guard America from racial 'leveling' and other essential features.

### **3.2.3 Cycle Three: The Threat of Tribulation. The First Red Scare and Yellow Peril novels (1878–1944).**

From the period of 1941 to the publication of *The Turner Diaries* in book form in 1978, almost no white nationalist novels were written, though two 'British Israel' novels were published. The idea of 'British Israelism' transmogrified into the current faith of Christian Identity and the novels were published by the British Israel Association of Greater Vancouver.<sup>116</sup> Basically, this era was overshadowed by World War Two, the Cold War (the fight against communism both at home and abroad), the first stirrings of the civil rights movement, and finally, the triumph of the civil rights movement and the 'second Reconstruction.' For the first part of this era, nascent white nationalists would have been considered part of the 'hard' Christian right. However, their views would not have been out of sync with most white Americans at that time, though they might have expressed themselves in more radical ways. Therefore, the only novel of substance and one that would play an important role in the writing of *The Turner Diaries* was the anonymously written novel *The John Franklin Letters*. Basically, this novel purports to be the letters of one John Franklin to his uncle. Franklin was a member of the 'Patriots,' an armed group of resisters to the Communist takeover of the United States. Essentially, William L. Pierce took the structure and format of *The John Franklin Letters* for his novel—*The Turner Diaries*. *The John Franklin Letters* is an anti-communist novel that warns of

<sup>116</sup> Both novels were written by H. Ben Judah and entitled *Mog and Magog* (Vancouver, BC: British Israel Association of Greater Vancouver, 1942) and *When?: A Prophetic Novel of the Very Near Future* (Vancouver BC: British Israel Association of Greater Vancouver, 1944).

the dangers of the ‘fifth column’ of communists and other ‘subversives’ present in the United States. It cannot be considered a white nationalist novel because at the end of the novel, a black former ‘Patriot’ is elected president of the U. S. and no white nationalist would write this into his novel unless it was to tear the character down and show him as corrupt, stupid, or a pawn in the hands of the Jews.

In general, while modern white nationalist fiction started with *The Turner Diaries*, written by William L. Pierce and published in 1978 in book form, there have been other cycles and influences upon the themes of the novels as mentioned above. Subsequently, the first cycle of modern white nationalist fiction can be viewed as responding to, not only the defeat of the Confederacy, but more importantly the triumph of the black civil rights movement and integration of the public schools of the early-mid 1970s, along with the general loosening of morality and the various social upheavals that the United States experienced in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The publication of *The Turner Diaries* did not raise much of a stir among what was becoming the racist/racialist right, the embryonic white nationalist movement. It was not until the early 1980s when The Order violently burst onto the scene in the Pacific Northwest that law enforcement, academics, and the underground racialist right took note of this soon-to-be underground classic. The Order, also known as The Silent Brotherhood engaged in a string of armored car robberies and murder in the early 1980s. One of its members, the David Lane, would become something of a sage to American and later, worldwide white nationalism with his famous 14 Words and 88 Precepts. It is the Order’s actions, taken from the novel and later, Timothy McVeigh’s obsessive compulsion regarding the novel that has brought it notoriety.<sup>117</sup>

### **3.2.4 Cycle Four: The Peril of Perfidy. American White Nationalism Finds Its Voice (1975–2001)**

The next cycle of novels to appear would start with the publication of *Hunter* in 1985 and end with the publication of Ward Kendall’s *Hold Back This Day* in 2001, the most well-known of the ‘racist science fiction’ sub-genre. During this period, white nationalism started to stake out its territory and define its beliefs, along with pushing the boundaries of free speech and good taste. Novels such as *Serpent’s Walk* (Randolph Calverhall—1991, *Hear the Cradle Song* (O. T.

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<sup>117</sup> The best book on The Order is by Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood: The Chilling Inside Story of America’s Violent, Anti-Government Militia Movement* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990). For Timothy McVeigh and the Oklahoma City bombing, see Lou Michel and Dan Herbeck, *American Terrorist: Timothy McVeigh and the Oklahoma City Bombing* (New York: HarperCollins, 2001).

Gunnarsson—1994), *The Savaged States of America* (Kevin Beary—1998), which is more of an anti-Political Correctness novel, and *Children of the Ice* (authored by Joseph Walthers—1992) would only be read by white nationalists, while most scholars of the movement concentrated on its erstwhile leaders or various groups including the growing Posse Comitatus movement in the Plains states and the ‘militia’ movement. The novels during this time period show a mounting distrust of central authority, a definite hatred of urban life and a rejection of materialism and cosmopolitanism. During this time as well, a few novels were published that struck cords with the embryonic ‘neo-Confederate’ movement, including *The Unlifted Curse* by Emory Burke (1992).

The influence of neo-Nazism, represented by George Lincoln Rockwell’s American Nazi Party, along with the scriptural support given by Christian Identity, once known as British Israelism, gave members of the Posse Comitatus an almost religious vision of who their enemies were—‘Jewish’ bankers, ‘traitorous’ politicians, the FBI and other federal law enforcement agencies. This era culminated in the Oklahoma City bombing of April 17, 1995. While Timothy McVeigh and others of his ilk looked upon the confrontation between federal law enforcement officers and various individuals and groups like Randy Weaver in Ruby Ridge, Idaho, the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas, and Gordan Kahl in the Plains states as evidence of the federal government’s nefarious intentions, it was *The Turner Diaries* from which he took inspiration for the bombing that killed over 150 people.<sup>118</sup> Furthermore, it was The Order, also known as The Silent Brotherhood, that also took inspiration from the novel to ‘wage war’ against the federal government in the Pacific Northwest and attack other forces that were perceived as enemies of the ‘white’ race.

Basically, the novels written in this era fall into two categories—political polemics disguised as novels or novels with racial elements that have a racial message hidden in the text. Admittedly, there is a lot of overlap and the distinctions are not quite as clear cut as it first might appear. For instance, the anti-Political Correctness novel written by Kevin Beary, *The Savaged States of America* is full of lampooning barbs directed at the ‘idiocies’ of political correctness

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<sup>118</sup> For more information, see James Corcoran, *Bitter Harvest: Gordon Kahl and the Posse Comitatus: Murder in the Heartland* (New York: Penguin Books, 1991), Osha Gray Davidson, *Broken Heartland: The Rise of America’s Rural Ghetto* (New York: Doubleday, 1990), Brian Mann, *Welcome to the Heartland: A Journey to the Rural Heart of America’s Conservative Revolution* (Hanover, NH: Steerforth Press, 2006), and Catherine McNicol Stock, *Rural Radicals: From Bacon’s Rebellion to the Oklahoma City Bombing* (New York: Penguin Press, 1997). Originally published by Cornell University Press, 1996.

taken to its extremes. However, the novel is not as racially charged as others published during the same time period like *Children of the Ice*, which was written by Joseph Walthers and published in 1992. Walthers' novel is a story of lost innocence regained by whites finding their 'racial destiny,' with the title of the novel being an allusion to the Nazi belief that the 'Aryan' race developed in the Arctic north in the ancient past.<sup>119</sup> The novel was published under the auspices of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian Aryan Nations—better known simply as 'Aryan Nations,' so its message should not be surprising. However, what might be surprising is the fact that no scholar of the racist right mentions the novel at all, nor any other novel besides *The Turner Diaries*. This is the sad state of research on novels of the white nationalist right in the United States. As has been shown with Timothy McVeigh and *The Order*, ignoring the message of these novels and their appeal to certain groups and individuals is perilous.

Another novel published during this period, *Hear the Cradle Song*, written by O. T. Gunnarsson and published in 1993 brings the message of racial separation to the fore but also adds a heady dose of social Darwinism to the plot as well. As the United States collapses into ethnic strife and chaos, a band of white revolutionaries sets out to rescue a group of whites trapped in the suburbs of Los Angeles. In the group are the parents of a physically handicapped boy who are forced to choose between their lives and the life of their son as the gangs of 'Mexican' thugs are closing in. The main character mentions that being "kind to this child is actually what killed them. [...] It would have been better to abort the child to save him pain and the parents untold grief when he is finally killed" (Gunnarsson 1993, 82, 154). While this idea of aborting the mentally and physically handicapped is abhorrent to modern sensibilities, it dovetails perfectly with the ways in which National Socialist-inspired novels view humanity and the ways in which humans (read 'Aryans'/'whites') can improve their lives and the life of their race.

The last novel of this period is the aforementioned novel by Ward Kendall, *Hold Back This Day*. Described by H. A. Covington, one of the most outspoken advocates of racial separation, as "A white man's 1984," *Hold Back This Day* contains all the tropes mentioned thus far: namely redemption, the 'hypocrisy' of the progressive political left, the supposed inferiority of non-whites, the nefarious nature of the opponents of white nationalism but it also reengaged a

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<sup>119</sup> For more information on this topic, see the current author's article "The Riddle of Thule: In Search of the Crypto-History of a Racially Pure White Utopia" in Alicja Bemben, Rafał Boryślawski, et al, eds. *Cryptohistories* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), pp. 127-142.



‘lost’ trope—‘cosmic revelation.’ This trope was used for the first time in William R. Twiford’s *Sown in the Darkness, 2000 A.D.* but Kendall revised the trope and it has become a mainstay of white nationalist fiction since.

### **3.2.5 Cycle Five: Fight or Die—No Surrender, No Retreat. The Contemporary Separatist Cycle of White Nationalist Novels (2003-Present).**

The present stage of white nationalist fiction started in 2003. In this year, two novels were published that would set the basis for the mythos of white racial separation in the neo-Confederate movement and the Pacific Northwest; those novels being the first part of Gregory Kay’s ‘Third Revolution’ cycle entitled *The Third Revolution* and the first novel in H. A. Covington’s Northwest saga, entitled *The Hill of the Ravens* (2003). While both novels were published in the same year, and both are the first in a series of novels that describes the ethnic breakup/ balkanization of the United States, Covington’s novel is actually the last in the series timeline-wise. Kay’s *The Third Revolution* starts at the beginning of the struggle and moves through three more novels to reach its conclusion. Covington’s novel starts about 50 years after the establishment of the NAR—Northwest American Republic—the ‘homeland’ for all whites worldwide that was established at the point of the gun by a small band of racial revolutionaries. The other novels in Covington’s Northwest cycle—*A Mighty Fortress* (2005), *A Distant Thunder* (2006), *The Brigade* (2008) and *Freedom’s Sons* (2013) take the reader on a journey that sees how a revolutionary organization could be established and how a colonial-style war could be waged to break off a part of the United States. Kay’s novels: *The Third Revolution* (2004), *The Third Revolution: The Long Knives* (2006), *The Third Revolution: The Black Flag* (2008), and *The Third Revolution: The Warlord* (2010) do much the same thing as Covington’s novels, taking the reader from revolution to the establishment of a neo-Confederacy on the territory of the old Confederacy. Unlike Covington’s novels, however, Kay sticks to the ‘big man’ theory of history because the main character is the one with the overriding will to see the New Confederacy come into being.

While Gregory Kay’s novels are the most revolutionary of the neo-Confederate subgenre within white nationalist fiction, one scholar, the aforementioned Kevin Hicks included Franklin

Sanders' 1986 Christian Patriot novel *Heiland*, within the neo-Confederate subgenre. This subgenre, which embraces the aforementioned *Third Revolution* cycle and Lloyd Lennard's *The Last Confederate Flag* (2001), along with Emory Burke's *The Unlifted Curse* (1992) provide differing views that also espouse and reinforce the major beliefs of the neo-Confederate movement. Burke's *The Unlifted Curse* was self-published in 1992 and is a novel about the errors of miscegenation (race mixing) and the tribulations that the United States will undergo because it has strayed from 'God's law,' as regards race, homosexuality, and the punishment of crime. In essence, Burke's novel is a novel that advocates a return to Old Testament law and the pre-1861 U. S. Constitution, which is something that white nationalists of all stripes agree upon but in particular, neo-Confederates. The 'curse' in the novel's title refers to the 'curse' of African slavery, which in the words of the author:

We were *cursed* from the very moment that slavery became involved in the life, history and destiny of our People [read 'white people'], and we are going to continue to be *cursed* until the curse is lifted by the Negroes being freed and repatriated to homelands of their own in their African Fatherland. (Burke 1992, iii)

Burke's novel caused nary a whisper at the time and is little known today, even among supposed 'experts,' such as Kevin Hicks of Alabama State University and author of the chapter 'Literature and Neo-Confederacy' in *Neo-Confederacy: A Critical Introduction*.<sup>120</sup>

Lennard's novel seems to have predicted the current controversy surrounding the removal of the Confederate flag and associated monuments in the South in the wake of the June 17<sup>th</sup>, 2015 Charleston church shooting. Published in 2001, *The Last Confederate Flag* is one of the few neo-Confederate novels that reinforce the 'Heritage Not Hate' message of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Sons of Confederate Veterans. Its message of support for the symbols of the Confederacy contradict the prevailing sentiment at present and support the neo-Confederate contention that their symbols, way of life, morality, and attitudes are under attack from outside forces—again, buttressing the belief that 'the white race' itself is under attack, as whites cannot feel proud of their ancestors,' while African-Americans, Asian-Americans, Hispanic/Latino-Americans and LGBT Americans can celebrate their 'pride' without anyone lifting an eyebrow.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>120</sup> Euan Hague, Heidi Beirich, and Edward H. Sebesta, eds. *Neo-Confederacy: A Critical Introduction* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2008).

<sup>121</sup> If used cautiously, the two neo-Confederate readers are useful in examining the worldview of the movement. The books are: Euan Hague, Heidi Beirich, and Edward H. Sebesta, eds. *Neo-Confederacy: A Critical Introduction* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2008) and James W. Loewen and Edward H. Sebesta, eds., *The Confederate and Neo-Confederate Reader: The "Great Truth" about the "Lost Cause"* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2010). However, for a neo-Confederate perspective, one can do no better than: Michael A. Grissom,

This position is reinforced by the statement by Rev. Bob Slimp quoted in the Introduction. While this work does not advocate this idea; it takes the position that the novels under discussion reveal the trauma and the beliefs underlying the ideology stated by the authors. Following this brief overview of the various cycles of white nationalist fiction, this work now turns to the personal level to examine the ways in which fear, humiliation, shame and trauma turn into revolution.

### 3.3 Fearing the Political left: Texts of the Latest Cycle and the Re-Triggering of Shame

“Hold on to what you believe because they can’t take that away”<sup>122</sup>—this brief quotation from a Lynyrd Skynyrd song appears to recapitulate the essence of the psychological defense that the white nationalist groups have adopted. Holding on to what you believe requires both: the celebration of group memory and the capability to selectively elevate the constitutive values underlying the white nationalist metanarrative while repressing others, including those responsible for the collective tragedy of countless African and African American slaves. However, in order to explore the mechanisms that today retrigger the memory of the collective trauma (which always affects one more than the trauma one has inflicted upon others) and intensify the sense of shame, it seems helpful to resort to leave theoretical investigations aside for a moment and to concentrate on the clues that can be derived from texts functioning in the public space. The words of some contemporary neo-Confederates will shed a better light on what they and other white nationalists feel is at stake and, more importantly, how they feel their opponents view themselves and their ideas. In his 1989 article, “A Long Farewell: The Southern Valedictories of 1860-1861,” M. E. Bradford elaborates on the level of discourse aimed at the white nationalist right or, indeed, any assertion of white ethnicity by its erstwhile enemies:

They care nothing for legal means, only for ends-purposes-that reinforces the moral presuppositions of their world. Yet in a free society the law cannot be maintained or interpreted against the will of a whole people, by compulsion and abuse: what Lee meant when he spoke disparagingly of a Union held together by nothing but bayonets. [...] For if you attack your countrymen as not merely mistaken but evil you are not proceeding politically or at law. Instead you represent an authority higher than statute or process and imply an intimacy with God’s plan thusward [sic]. This strategy is called rhetorically *oraculum*—speaking for the gods. It is incompatible with the stable rule of law. (Bradford 1993, 25)

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*The Last Rebel Yell* (The Rebel Press, 1991) and James R. Kennedy and Walter D. Kennedy, *The South Was Right: A Southern Perspective on the American Civil War* (New Orleans: Land and Land Publishing Division, 1991).

<sup>122</sup> Lynyrd Skynyrd, *Can’t Take That Away*, Atlantic Records, 1993.

In essence, Bradford states what many white nationalists have come to see as their persecution for not believing the way that progressive, multicultural American society constantly reinforces they must believe. Furthermore, many white nationalists, who are the intellectual inheritors of the founders of the Confederacy, look at their opponents as more delusional or bewitched than evil. However, in his 1985 article, Forrest McDonald points out the culture crusade that many Social Justice Warriors seem to be engaged in to eradicate any whiff of apostasy from the current politically correct society are anathema to the American system; hence his ideas are quoted at length:

That is the first thing to understand about the Yankee: he is a doctrinal puritan, characterized by what William G. McLaughlin has called pietistic perfectionism. Unlike the Southerner, he is constitutionally incapable of letting things be, of adopting a live-and-let-live attitude. No departure from his version of Truth is tolerable, and thus when he finds himself amidst sinners, as he invariably does, he must either purge and purify the community or join with his fellow saints and go into the wilderness to establish a New Jerusalem. In other words, he must reform society or secede from it; and though he has long since been thoroughly secularized, the compulsion remains as strong in the twentieth century as it was in the seventeenth (McDonald 1993, 210).

Whereas McDonald's essay revolves around explaining the mindset of Yankees, it could be argued that the current culture wars in the United States pits present-day 'Yankees' against present-day 'Confederates/Rebels,' with both sides being the logical intellectual inheritors of their counterparts from 157 years ago. The rhetoric aimed at the individual and collective white nationalist seems to be designed to shame him/her into conformity, as is exemplified by one of the major themes that Democratic Presidential candidate Hillary R. Clinton leveled at her opponent's supporters, labelling them as 'Deplorables,' which became a badge of honor that many adopted and from which the lead quote at the beginning of this chapter was taken. The Trump rebellion of 2016 is just the latest in a long string of rebellions of the so-called 'Unprotected'.<sup>123</sup> While Trump's electoral victory in the 2016 U. S. presidential elections took many by surprise, it came as no surprise to others who have been watching the rise of white working class frustration at the way in which current American society denigrates and demeans, indeed, 'shames' them for believing as they believe, worshipping as they worship and for engaging in their various hobbies. Michael Kimmel noticed the same process taking place with many of the Confederate 'flag wavers,' who 'thumb their noses' as it were at contemporary society when he wrote:

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<sup>123</sup> A term coined by Peggy Noonan in her article, "Trump and the Rise of the Unprotected," *Wall Street Journal*, February 26, 2016.

For Southern men, defeat meant a gendered humiliation-the Southern gentleman was discredited as a “real man.” Southern soldiers returned to a barren and broken land of untilled farms, broken machinery, gutted and burned buildings, and a valueless currency. Schools, banks, and businesses were closed, unemployment was high, and inflation crippling. For the rest of the century and well into the twentieth century, Southern manhood would continually attempt to assert itself against debilitating conditions, Northern invaders (from carpetbaggers to civil rights workers), and newly freed blacks. The Southern rebel, waving the Confederate flag at collegiate football games, is perhaps his most recent incarnation (Kimmel 1996, 77).

While Kimmel was writing this in 1996, his 2013 book, *Angry White Men* also considers the rebellion that many white men embraced as the new millennium seemed to encompass everyone’s wishes except theirs. In quoting psychiatrist Willard Gaylin:

We can endure the fact that we do not have something unless we feel that something has been taken away from us. We will then experience a sense of violation. The smoldering rage which comes from being cheated [will be extended] to the society which allowed us to be cheated. (Kimmel 2013, 25)

Kimmel mentions, “It’s misdirecting that anger to others that is the central dynamic of America’s angry white men” (Kimmel 2013, 25). Actually, it is argued here that the ‘angry white man’ syndrome and its affect, white nationalist novels direct their anger at the proper parties, as white nationalists see them, those that have tried to take away their freedoms, rights and, above all, their self-respect. Rebellion, it seems, is as American as apple pie, regardless of attempts to argue that rebellion has no place in American society. Many white nationalists have written that current American society does not value them, their culture, or their beliefs. The most eloquent and prolific of current neo-Confederate writers, Michael A. Grissom, hints at this trend in trying to answer critics’ accusations that white Southerners refuse to stop fighting the Civil War. His thoughts are quoted at length because Grissom touches upon various emotional issues present in both neo-Confederate and white nationalist thought:

I suppose the main reason we are still fighting the War, if we truly are, is that we are still being attacked. It didn’t end in 1865. We knew then that we championed a lost cause-not a wrong cause mind you, only a lost cause. [...] Are we guilty of high crimes because we still hold fast to the principles for which Lee fought and Jackson died? If the United States were invaded by a conquering Russian army and its Godless government instituted upon our shores, who among our northern neighbors would tell their children to throw out the Bible, despise the flag, curse the past, and never look back? Yet that is precisely what is demanded of us, even after 125 years. It is one thing to whip us but quite another to make us like it! [...] For the past twenty-five years [Grissom was writing in 1991] our customs, mannerisms, speech, and religion have been universally attacked. The self-righteous, all-powerful media rakes the muck and sets the pace in dismantling our very heritage. [...] The tell-tale mark of a bigoted community is the presence of a Confederate monument, and the poor old Confederate flag is to blame for every evil named among men. [...] I know of no other group of people, ethnic or otherwise, who are made to bear public censure day after day, year after year, for quietly memorializing their cultural heritage (Grissom 1991, 286-287).

Grissom is a confirmed neo-Confederate, however, his sentiments, as will be seen in Chapter Four, are echoed by various other white nationalist authors. The sense of defensiveness and

astonishment at the ways in which society had changed at the time he was writing are obvious. However, for current white nationalists, the rapid cultural and societal changes since 1991, when Grissom wrote the above, have political left many wondering where their place is within American society. Indeed, in the rush towards a more pluralistic society, the present-day white nationalist seems to believe that the average white, heterosexual male has been political left behind to fend off accusations of racism, sexism, cultural appropriation and various other evils that seem to be only directed at them. In particular, the positions adopted by the progressive political left-wing intellectuals seem to aggravate their sense of insecurity, especially if anti-white rhetoric comes from people enjoying a position of note, such as Susan Sonntag:

If America is the culmination of Western white civilization, as everyone from the Political left to the Right declares, then there must be something terribly wrong with Western white civilization. This is a painful truth; few of us want to go that far. The truth is that Mozart, Pascal, Boolean algebra, Shakespeare, parliamentary government, baroque churches, Newton, the emancipation of women, Kant, Marx, Balanchine ballets, et al., don't redeem what this particular civilization has wrought upon the world. The white race is the cancer of human history; it is the white race and it alone—its ideologies and inventions—which eradicates autonomous civilizations wherever it spreads, which has upset the ecological balance of the planet, which now threatens the very existence of life itself (Sonntag 1967, 57-58).

If their sense of violation is further exacerbated by the seemingly constant *ad nauseum* recitation of what the white race has done wrong throughout the centuries, as indicated by the quote above, then their sense of victimization and, being under attack for being born white and ‘holding on to what they believe’ can turn into a constant emotional brew of shame, humiliation, and anger. If the statement by Gaylin above and the observations of psychiatrist James Gilligan’s are taken into consideration, then the ‘Angry [white] man’ may become angrier, and, with nothing to lose, may turn to rebellion, which is where the novels of the white nationalist right enter, as these novels advocate not only rebellion but revolution.<sup>124</sup>

Rebellion is an extremely recurrent phenomenon in American history, whether from the right or the political left. However, it seems that some scholars would prefer to focus on the economic motives behind rebellion, as has been shown in the above chapters, rather than a need for revenge, which buttresses the need for a psychological approach to the study of radical literature. Indeed, even the most recent exposé on the various rebellions of whites on the frontier, Nancy Isenberg’s *White Trash. The 400-Year Untold History of Class in America* makes no

<sup>124</sup> For similar forms of anti-white rhetoric, see Frank Joyce, “White Men Must Be Stopped: The Future of Mankind Depends on It,” [http://www.salon.com/2015/12/22/white\\_men\\_must\\_be\\_stopped\\_the\\_very\\_future\\_of\\_the\\_depends\\_on\\_it\\_partner/](http://www.salon.com/2015/12/22/white_men_must_be_stopped_the_very_future_of_the_depends_on_it_partner/), posted December 22, 2015. For a more balanced approach, see Ross Kaminsky, “Straight White Guys Are Terrible,” [https://spectator.org/59231\\_another-noble-quest-no-solution/](https://spectator.org/59231_another-noble-quest-no-solution/), posted May 14, 2014.

mention of either the Regulator Movement of the pre-Revolutionary North and South Carolina or the Whiskey Rebellion of 1798.<sup>125</sup> Instead, Isenberg concentrates on perceptions of ‘class’ among America’s two of America’s Founding Fathers (Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson) and the myth of Andrew Jackson’s ‘new man,’ among others, using a Marxist-aligned theory of social conflict. The history of rebellion among the white working or poorer classes is quite long and violent, though Isenberg prefers to concentrate on economic causes, relegating emotion to the sidelines of her immense study. Moreover, a study of rebellion among lower class whites, so-called ‘white trash,’ should include some references to the most famous rebellions which, indeed did include economic elements but that also rallied around the banner of respect from a distant government.

If psychologist James Gilligan is correct in his assertion that violence in overall American society comes from a loss of ‘Self’ esteem and respect, then the white nationalist perspective of perceiving American society as abandoning his/her beliefs and ideals lead to a conclusion that there is no place for a straight, white conservative male in multicultural America. This idea is fictionally exemplified by a conversation between two FBI agents, one, a multiracial female agent and the other, a white male agent who are investigating a series of murders committed by white racist revolutionaries in Oregon in Covington’s novel, *The Brigade*:

In the Chrysler Aspen, [Agent] Rabang Miller had finally finished tearing the deputy’s citation [for illegal parking] into the tiniest possible shreds, and she rolled down the window and tossed the confetti out. [Agent] Brian Pangborn, who was driving, looked over and said to her sharply, “Roll that window up! You know procedure! You heard that sheriff! It’s possible one of these people [the white revolutionaries who had murdered a Jewish couple that the FBI agents were charged with investigating] may be a military-trained sniper!”

“Like these bumpkins are going to give me another ticket for littering?” Rabang sneered. “Besides, I think that sheriff is in with the racists.”

“Oh?” said Pangborn politely, with a weary roll of his eyes. “On what do you base that brilliant deduction?”

“I’m a woman of color,” she told him primly. “That means I have a feel for racists, a sixth sense.”

Pangborn sighed. “Look, I’m going to tell you something, Rabang, and if you want to report me to the Diversity and Tolerance Office, fine, but you’d better listen up. This is for your own good. Not all white men are racists and engaged in some deep dark conspiracy to do down women and people of color. Not all

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<sup>125</sup> Nancy Isenberg, *White Trash. The 400-Year Untold History of Class in America* (New York: Viking, 2016). For more on the Regulator Movement, see Carole Watterson Troxler, *Farming Dissenters: The Regulator Movement in Piedmont North Carolina* (Raleigh, NC: Office of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2011). For the Regulator Movement in South Carolina, see Richard Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators: The Story of America’s First Vigilante Movement* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963). For the Whiskey Rebellion, see William Hogeland, *The Whiskey Rebellion: George Washington, Alexander Hamilton and the Frontier Rebels Who Challenged America’s Newfound Sovereignty* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006) and Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

white males are your enemies, but if you and your kind don't quit acting like horse's asses, by God, eventually we will be! (Covington 2008, 146)

Furthermore, as pointed out by prison psychologist Gilligan when he talked to armed robbers about the reasons behind their crimes:

[prisoners]: "I never got so much respect before in my life as I did when I first pointed a gun at somebody," or, "You wouldn't believe how much respect you get when you have a gun pointed at some dude's face." For men who have lived for a lifetime on a diet of contempt and disdain, the temptation to gain instant respect in this way can be worth far more than the cost of going to prison, or even of dying (Gilligan, 1997, 109).

And further in quoting anthropologist Julian Pitt-Rivers, "the withdrawal of respect dishonors, ... and this inspires the sentiment of shame" (Gilligan, 1997, 110). Moreover, Gilligan underpins Thomas J. Scheff's findings in *Bloody Revenge* by stating,

The emotion of shame is the primary or ultimate cause of violence, whether toward others or toward the self. Shame is a necessary but not a sufficient cause of violence, [...]. Nothing is more shameful than feeling ashamed. Often violent men will hide this secret behind a defensive mask of bravado, arrogance, "machismo," self-satisfaction, insouciance, or studied indifference. [...] Behind the mask of "cool" or self-assurance that many violent men clamp onto their faces, [...], is a person who feels vulnerable not just to "loss of face" but to the total loss of honor, prestige, respect, and status-the disintegration of identity, especially their adult, masculine, heterosexual identity; their selfhood, personhood, rationality, and sanity (Gilligan, 1997, 112).

Each individual person and group seems to want, indeed crave, self-respect and, from a white nationalist perspective, whites, particularly white, straight males, are the only group in the United States that is incapable of expressing their beliefs and gaining the much desired self-respect. In examining Jack Katz's research on crime, Scheff mentions that Katz:

[...] found that the perpetrator felt humiliated, committing the crime was an act of revenge. In some cases the sense of humiliation was based on actual insults [...] In other cases it was difficult to assess to which degree the humiliations were real or imagined. Whatever the realities, Katz's findings support the model of the shame-rage feeling trap. [quoting Katz] "The would-be killer must undergo a particular emotional process. He must transform what he initially senses as an eternally humiliating situation into a blinding rage." Rather than acknowledging his or her shame, the killer masks it with anger, the first step into the abyss of the shame-rage feeling trap, which ends in murder (Scheff 1994, 67-68).

In buttressing the arguments presented above by the neo-Confederate authors Bradford and MacDonald and the shame-rage trap, Covington in the last novel of his *Northwest Novels* saga presents an aging white revolutionary explaining to his grandson's American girlfriend why the white revolutionaries like him rebelled when they did:

"What I'm trying to say, Danielle, is that like an apple with just a little spot of decay on it, eventually the whole fruit rotted, and the rot spread. The good people of America were too busy living. They were enjoying life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, like they used to say, so the Jews and the bad white people took over and decided that *everybody had to be*



*like them*, to think like them, to live like them. They spent a good hundred years trying to force it on the rest of us. All down through the decades we begged and pleaded for them to stop, and they wouldn't....It became pretty clear that they didn't just want to lord it over us, they wanted us all dead. All white people who didn't bow down and kiss their assorted body parts, and even those who did were only buying themselves a little time. ... And for generation after generation, all we would do was weep, and wail, and gnash our teeth, and wring our hands, and beg and plead with them to stop. That was all we ever wanted. We just wanted them to *stop!*"

"So what happened then?" asked Danny [Danielle Tolliver].

"We *made* them stop," said Ray [Selkirk] simply. "You know how" (Covington 2013, 871-872).

The 'how' was a five-year long revolt in the Pacific Northwest that established a white ethnic state—the NAR—Northwest American Republic. The feeling of helplessness at being forced to accept various things that are unacceptable to a white nationalist and feeling physically threatened by people who are considered mortal enemies shines through in the quote. However, the underlying message is that it takes a bullet or a baseball bat upside the head of the "Jews and the bad white people" to get the message across for them to *stop*. Helplessness seems to be the first step toward a feeling of shame and it is shame that reinforces the craving for revenge. In trying to explain a particular inmate's penchant for brutal violence, Gilligan mentions the use of shame by Hitler and the Nazi Party:

As Seymour Martin Lipset and others have shown, by the time of the Depression on the crest of which Hitler rode to power in 1933, the group who supported him most strongly at the polls were the lower middle classes. The members of this group felt in danger of losing their capital and suffering a loss of social and economic status, a degradation, by becoming part of the humiliated, inferior, poverty-stricken lower class, or felt they had already suffered that humiliating sea-change into something poor and strange, and were eager for revenge—for a way of re-establishing their status or sense of power—which Hitler and the Nazi party promised them in abundance. Downward social mobility, unemployment, and homelessness are among the most potent stimuli of shame, and are a key to the politics of violence (Gilligan 1997, 67).

Therefore, the various leitmotifs of revenge present in the novels stem from a loss of respect and a fear of a loss of social status. As will be shown in Chapter Four, revenge is a key component in the regaining of what it means to be truly white according to the authors of the novels.

### **3.4 Venting Anguish: The Emotional Framework of the White Nationalist Novel**

In examining the various cycles of white nationalist fiction, this work makes the assertion that the 'shame' felt by white Southerners at having lost the American Civil War was transferred and vicariously absorbed by the white nationalist right and the more extreme elements of the

right-wing in the United States as it fought and continues to fight the various battles of the ‘culture wars.’ Overall, it takes the racist right around twenty years to come to grips with the victories of the Political left and analyze through fiction what the various victories mean for them and ‘their race.’ Hence, the cycles of white nationalist prose crystallize in fictional form the anguish and humiliation, not to mention the cathartic wish fulfillment and warning imparted in the novels under discussion.

In many ways, these battles are as old as the republic itself or at least as old as substantial immigration, as many of the fears expressed by the present-day ‘racist’ right were also expressed in similar ways by the nativist Know Nothing Party of the 1850s, and its forebears in the various anti-Catholic groups of the North during the Jacksonian era of the Early Republic. Indeed, it was the Know Nothings and like-minded groups’ ‘brass knuckle crusade’ for the three decades preceding the American Civil War that produced the first cycle of proto-white nationalist novels—the Convent Exposés, among them the bestselling book before the publication of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, namely Maria Monk’s *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*.<sup>126</sup> The success of Maria Monk’s highly fictional and scurrilous novel spawned various imitators, which in turn, spawned rumors of Catholic conspiracies of trying to undermine the government of the United States; hence, fears of conspiracy have been prevalent in white nationalist novels since the 1830s. However, one of the more interesting elements to have occurred in recent years has been the evolution of the white nationalist novel into the white separatist novel, with various authors imagining a part of the United States being broken off and ruled by various forms of white nationalists. The reason for the development of the white separatist novel, as opposed to the white supremacist novel, is the change in attitude of the ‘intelligentsia’ of the white nationalist right. Basically, the most prolific of them believe that the United States, in its current form, is broken and the only way for the white ‘race’ to survive on the North American continent is to have a separate homeland.

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<sup>126</sup> ‘Brass Knuckle Crusade’ is the title of one of the first modern studies of the Know Nothing Party, namely Carleton Beals’ *Brass Knuckle Crusade: The Great Know Nothing Conspiracy, 1830-1856* (New York: Hastings House, 1960). However, the first academic study of any note on the Know Nothing Party was published in 1938 and authored by Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York: Macmillan, 1938). In recent years, American historiography seems to have chosen to ignore or forget the ‘turbulent era’ of Jacksonian America. Indeed, some of the best historiography such as Beals’ book and Leonard L. Richards’ *“Gentlemen of Property and Standing”: Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) present a more realistic picture of a nation fractured by racial strife and of a North that was far from completely in agreement on the questions of immigration, slavery, or indeed, any issue, at least before the publication of Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* than is currently presented in contemporary historiography.

In looking at the literature about loss of self-respect and/or loss of self, there have been several studies on shame; however, one of the most overlooked and, for this project, the most important is Thomas J. Scheff's *Bloody Revenge: Emotions, Nationalism and War*, which was published at the height of the Bosnian Civil War in 1994.<sup>127</sup> As such, this subchapter now turns to examine his theories in light of the various cycles of white nationalist literature, bearing in mind that terms such as 'pride,' 'shame,' 'humiliation,' and 'respect' imbue white nationalist rhetoric with a feeling of persecution that plays an important part in self-perception and indeed, in the ways in which the major characters express their reasons for rebelling against the dream of racial harmony that has been reinforced by various groups since the victory of the Civil Rights movement.

Shame seems to be of overriding significance in the study of any of a number of 'underground' or 'fringe' political ideologies. Indeed, Adolf Hitler capitalized on post-World War One German shame to build a formidable political machine, the NSDAP, from disaffected soldiers shamed by the Versailles treaty, pan-German nationalists dreaming of a 'greater' German Reich, mystics and others. The Jim Crow laws in the post-Reconstruction South could be seen as another way of counteracting the shame felt by many former Confederates at losing the war. 'Fine,' they seemed to say, 'we will free the slaves but we will not allow you to tell us how to organize our society' or in the words of one Mississippi clergyman immediately after Lee's surrender at Appomattox, that "if we cannot gain our *political* [independence], let us establish at least our *mental* independence" (Connelly and Bellows 1982, 19). While this quote was given in the context of Southern religion and the rise of evangelical belief after the Confederate defeat, it establishes that for former Confederates, the shame at being defeated did not include the overturning of Southern society, as they saw it. Shame, pride, and revenge imbue white nationalist thought and there definitely needs to be more research on this matter, the anti-immigrant feelings in Europe and the rise of the far right in Europe which could be viewed as a part of a backlash against attempts by the Political left to shame the average white, indigenous European into being more accommodating of immigrant culture, though it is one of many reasons of the rise of the right in Europe. Moreover, the rise and presidential victory of Donald Trump in the United States took many pundits and analysts by surprise. However, if these researchers had read any of the white nationalist novels examined in Chapter Four, the revolt of

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<sup>127</sup> Thomas J. Scheff, *Bloody Revenge: Emotions, Nationalism, and War* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1994).

the ‘peasantry’ against the ‘elites’ appeared to be just a matter of time. Indeed, the study of the novels of the racist right opens up new vistas for exploring the angst felt among a particular group of people who seem to have been political left behind by the fast-changing world of massive immigration, displacement of traditional values and a popular culture that denigrates them at every turn, according to them.

The reflections of Sylvan Tomkins on shame would seem to cast a different prism on the emotions unleashed by each perceived defeat among white nationalists when viewed as a process of reoccurring shame that is felt by the far right in the wake of, not only the Confederate defeat, but the defeat of white nationalist ideology, of which the Confederacy is a direct forbearer:

If distress is the affect of suffering, shame is the affect of indignity, of defeat, of transgression, and of alienation. Though terror speaks to life and death and distress makes of the world a vale of tears, yet shame strikes deepest in to the heart of man. While terror and distress hurt, they are wounds inflicted from outside which penetrate the smooth surface of the ego; but shame is felt as an inner torment, a sickness of the soul. [...] he [a person] feels himself naked, defeated, alienated, lacking in dignity or worth. (Sedgewick and Frank 1995, 133)

“Defeated, alienated, lacking in dignity or worth,” aptly describes the tone of how the major characters of white nationalist novels express their feelings at having to live in contemporary American society. Furthermore, Scheff’s book, in examining marital counselor Helen Lewis’s theory on marital conflict, offers an interesting insight into how the ‘retriggering’ mechanism of white nationalist trauma occurs. Lewis’s theory revolves around the idea of ‘unacknowledged’ shame, which in Scheff’s concept is taken to include social interactions, in that way, the idea of unacknowledged shame is analogous to Schivelbusch’s idea of the victorious side’s refusal to acknowledge a sacrificial act by the defeated. In Scheff’s recounting of Lewis’s theory, the cycle of violence in a marriage is extrapolated to include a conflict between two parties and normally spirals out of control. “The cycle involved disrespect, humiliation, revenge, counter-revenge, and so on, ending in violence.” However, the starting point for one party is unacknowledged shame, “To lead to blind rage, the shame component in the emotions that are aroused must be unacknowledged” (Scheff 1994, 68). More importantly, it seems that the emotion or feeling of shame can escalate “continually to the point that a person or a group can be in a permanent fit of shame-rage, a kind of madness” (Scheff 1994, 67). If Scheff is correct, then it would appear that white nationalist writers have been in a ‘(semi-)permanent fit of shame-rage’ since 1865. It could be argued that former Confederates and their ideological inheritors cling to such ‘archaic’ notions of racism, and, if researchers Jessie Daniels, Abby Ferber and others, along with the majority of

pundits, are to be believed, sexism because they not only believe it is right but because the humiliation of defeat and the shame involved in that defeat are too psychologically damaging to acknowledge.<sup>128</sup> Echoing this thought, the words of noted historian William C. Davis regarding the loss of the Confederacy play out for the whole of the white nationalist right: “One could be beaten without having to admit defeat, and nothing was truly lost until its believers gave up” (Davis 2003, 428). As expressions of ideas that might be denigrated by contemporary society, white nationalist novels and the study of them illustrate most coherently Michael Foucault’s dictum of studying the ‘underside’ of society.

While they are shamed by contemporary society for their political and social/cultural beliefs, they refuse to acknowledge or ‘bend the knee’ and ask for forgiveness, such being a prerequisite to being reintegrated into the contemporary culture and society. Instead of shame and humiliation, white nationalist novels and white nationalist publications concentrate on a different emotion, the longing for vengeance.

The desire for vengeance is a natural human emotion though in contemporary Western society has been subsumed and repressed for the sake of society. However, in so-called primitive societies revenge is given utmost importance:

Revenge is so consistently reported as one of the principle cause s of war that it requires detailed analysis. Why should the human personality yearn to compensate for its humiliation in the blood of enemies? The tension-release motive plays a part here. Revenge loosens the taut feeling caused by the slaying or despoiling of one’s self, clan, tribe, nation. Even the hope for revenge helps the humiliated human to bear up, enables him to continue to function in a socially unfavorable environment. [...] Revenge, or the hope of revenge, restores the deflated ego, and is a conflict motive with which mankind must reckon with universally. (Scheff 1994, 64)

In the white nationalist context, the vicarious manifestation of hope at revenge is expressed in the quotes used in Chapter Four, in the subchapter on revenge. For this subchapter however, the emotions of vengeance and humiliation are the most important aspects under examination. Since humiliation and vengeance seem to be intertwined within white nationalist fiction, it is these emotions that serve as the triggers of the retriggering of shame and humiliation at defeat.

The desire for revenge because of a real or imagined national shame, humiliation and a need to protect the nation permeate the ideology of all nationalist groups, whether national, racial

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<sup>128</sup> Jessie Daniels is the author of *White Lies: Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality in White Supremacist Discourse* (New York: Routledge, 1997). This title of this book, as stated in Chapter One of this work is a bit of a misnomer, as she only examines a few of the ‘party’ publications that were only available through subscription. Again, she does not examine any white nationalist novels. Abby L. Ferber is the author of *White Man Falling: Race, Gender, and White Supremacy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998). Daniels also authored *Cyber Racism: White Supremacy Online and the New Attack on Civil Rights* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009).

or religious. Since shame is an integral aspect of revenge, for an individual or a nation must be shamed before seeking revenge, then a group or person may be in a 'shame' state towards another. If such a state exists, "one route of denial is to become angered at the other, whether the other is responsible or not. That is, one feels rejected by, insulted by, or inferior to another, denial of shame can result in a shame-anger loop of unlimited intensity and duration" (Scheff 1994, 62). This denial may lead to shame-rage which feeds upon itself. In examining Helen Lewis' study on marital conflict, Scheff looks at the cycle of that conflict which involves "disrespect, humiliation, revenge, counter-revenge, and so on, ending in violence" (Scheff 1994, 68). In examining white nationalist novels and the rhetoric, whether warranted or not, against white nationalist adherents as a whole, the disrespect and vehemence directed at white nationalists' beliefs and actual humanity does cause humiliation, shame and pushes feelings of revenge. The feelings of shame and the desire for revenge among white nationalist novelists is extremely strong, especially among the more contemporary white separatist novelists. Shame rage is not just a feeling of shame at being embarrassed in front of others but a rage that feeds upon itself and which can lead to violence as the denial of shame leads to humiliation and feelings of, to restate the point, shame, rage and feelings of being disrespected, ignored, or worthless in the eyes of others, i.e. society.

Finally, the matter of alienation needs to be examined. In essence, there is no place for the white nationalist/white separatist to hide from the values of multiculturalism and diversity that is promoted by current American society. As Shane Ryan, the main hero in Covington's 2004 novel *A Distant Thunder* points out, "I was too young to comprehend that the one wish tyranny can never grant is simply to be political left alone. The rule is that no one can stop the merry-go-round and get off. No one must be political left outside the circle of misery. All must participate. All must sing hosannahs and all must burn the pinch of incense before the altar of the false gods of Zion" (Covington 2004, 71). In this aspect, it does not matter whether this statement is actually true, what matters is the *perception* that this statement is true. Since white nationalists believe that their 'lords and masters' will force them to mix with other races in multicultural America and there is no escape, then the idea of 'alienation' needs to be examined. As Scheff has pointed out, "Alienation in itself does not lead to overt conflict when the alienated parties can ignore each other. Bimodal alienation generates conflict when it is consistently denied. Denial may generate intellectual and emotional tension to the point of massive outbreaks of hatred"

(58). In the context of this subchapter, ‘alienation’ means the ability to ignore one’s erstwhile enemies or the party with which one is in conflict. Throughout the history of white nationalism in the United States, the ability of being “left alone” has been a central issue that white nationalists have promoted in their writings. However, the rise of various forms of social media, the policing of the Internet by various anti-racist watchdog groups, the ability of groups (such as various LGBTQ organizations) to bring civil suits against small businesses that, for religious reasons, do not want to cater to LGBTQ events such as weddings, and the sophisticated means of accessing extremely personal information makes the right to be left alone and to believe what one wants to believe virtually impossible. In essence, white nationalists, or it seems conservative Christian business owners, cannot just ‘ignore’ their ‘enemies,’ nor can their ‘enemies’ ignore them—this is especially true when both sides view each other as the epitome of everything that is wrong in the Western world. Finally, anger can come in very many forms within white nationalist rhetoric. However, shame is almost nonexistent in the sense that no white nationalist writer appears to take the tack that they need to be ashamed because of their beliefs and their refusal to acknowledge the shame that their enemies want them to feel seems to be one of the most impassable issues. This issue, unacknowledged shame, can lead to anger on the part of their enemies; however, it can also cause conflict:

Unacknowledged shame appears to be recursive, it feeds upon itself. To the extent that this is the case, it could be crucial in the causation of interminable conflict. If shame goes unacknowledged, it can loop back upon itself (being ashamed that one is ashamed) or can occur with the other emotions, such as grief (unresolved grief), fear (fear panics), or anger (humiliated fury) (Scheff 1994, 61-62).

For contemporary white nationalist fiction, grief—at the loss of the Confederacy and, to a lesser extent, the loss of the Nazi regime in World War Two, fear—for the future of the white race, and, anger—‘humiliated fury’ as examined above and in Chapter Four are all present. The aspect of humiliated fury is interesting as Scheff also mentions that “Anger may be interminable in the form of ‘helpless anger’ or in the more explosive form ‘humiliated fury.’ The shame-anger loop may be particularly central to destructive conflict” (Scheff 1994, 62). If Scheff is correct, then the more American society pushes multiculturalism and diversity, the more white nationalists and others will rebel against what society feels is appropriate behavior. After all, rebellion is very American and it seems that the American ‘way’ is to ignore the dictates of society and forge one’s own way. Within their novels, most contemporary white nationalist authors express many forms of humiliated fury. This humiliated fury is tied to feelings of being shamed by

contemporary society, but it also relates to what many white nationalists feel is the threat of physical annihilation and loss of everything that they have held important, mainly the right to choose whether to follow the mainstream culture or create their own ‘counter’-culture.

Finally, Scheff makes one final point that provides an important prism through which the novels can be read:

If one is in a shame state with respect to another, one route of denial is to become angered at the other, whether the other is responsible or not. That is, one feels rejected by, insulted by, or inferior to another, denial of shame can result in a shame-anger loop of unlimited intensity and duration (Scheff 1994, 62).

Since American white nationalism is the logical inheritor of the Southern Confederacy, advocating as it does white supremacy and, more recently, white separatism, and its pagan components, interest in runes, an advocating of a return to white European Nordic roots, an idolization of the SS, are the logical inheritors of various rightist groups within Europe, honor and the feeling of being insulted or being inferior to another (especially when one feels superior to other races) can and has produced conflict with other racial groups.<sup>129</sup> It also appears that Scheff’s analysis of bloody revenge, along with Lewis’ exploration of marital conflict sheds new light on the retriggering mechanism by which white nationalists, and others who share in the ideology, interpret the despair expressed in their novels, as shame, humiliation, grief, and anger permeate white nationalist fictional prose. However, the hope that appears in these novels transmogrifies into revolution—the revolution of the white spirit and the political revolution that will cleanse the white soul and the various white nations of any outside or ‘alien’ influences.

Additionally, this retriggering can be seen as expressed in white nationalist writing twenty years or so after the major trauma has been inflicted or has been perceived to have been inflicted onto the white population as a whole within the United States. The application of the above ideas, as reinforced by Gilligan’s writing briefly examined at the beginning of this subchapter shed much needed light on why white nationalism refuses to be laid to rest, why it can so easily morph its views to different eras, why it appeals to members of the white community at various times, and why white nationalist novels are the voice of the retriggered trauma of defeat, alienation and shame at having been defeated and losing the fight to protect their race, religion, beliefs and, indeed, country from being destroyed and denigrated by a

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<sup>129</sup> Many groups of white nationalists have adopted pagan symbology (i. e. runes) and most of the contemporary novels under examination in this project use pagan themes. For an examination of racial paganism, see Mattias Gardell, *Gods of the Blood: The Pagan Revival and White Separatism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003). For the neo-Confederate worldview, see Michael A. Grissom’s books listed in footnote #106 in this chapter.



Godless culture—”cultural Marxism.” Within the white nationalist context, “cultural Marxism” includes all theories that encompass current Western cultural and social ideology, including political correctness, diversity, multiculturalism, feminism, civil rights for the LGBTQ community, abortion, etc. Whereas the third novel of Covington’s *Northwest Novels*, *A Mighty Fortress*, is told from the perspective of young Cody Brock, a white nationalist Northwest Volunteer Army volunteer and part of the organization which is fighting the United States government in a colonial-style war to break off the Pacific Northwest from the United States, the heart of the story is the Longview Conference. This conference is the name of the peace conference to end the uprising. However, before the peace conference, the Political Bureau of the Northwest Volunteer Army issues “The Moral and Political Basis for Northwest Independence,” also known as “The Twelve Points” and while lengthy, will shed further illumination on the ideas that white nationalists have regarding “cultural Marxism” and current Western values. Although mentioned before, it is worthy to review them at length here:

1. The United States of America, in its original form as envisioned by the Founding Fathers, was a political entity by and for white people. The white race made America what it is today. America law and the United States Constitution are derived from Anglo-Saxon common law, going back to the Magna Carta. Such concepts as democracy itself and the rule of law are based upon European thought, not African or Asiatic.

2. [...] The United States was never intended by the Founding Fathers to be multi-racial, or multi-cultural or diverse. It was intended to be a national expression of what was viewed at the time as the Manifest Destiny of the white race. This is made abundantly clear by contemporary documents from the time of the Founding Fathers, in the writings of men such as Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and Benjamin Franklin. Indeed, the only references to non-whites in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were in passing, where Indians are referred to as enemies of the colonists and where for census and apportionment purposes, blacks were considered to be three-fifths of a man.

3. [...] America is riddled with crime, corruption, poverty, sexual perversion, unemployment, ill health, mistreatment of the elderly, the destruction of the national infrastructure, a dysfunctional educational system, and national malaise and demoralization. America today has been bankrupted and morally poisoned by a series of foreign wars fought on behalf of the Jewish people which are in fact counter to America’s interests, wars which have been as pointless as they were immoral. These problems simply *did not exist* to any significant degree in the past, when the white man was in charge.

4. [...] Diversity does *not* impart strength; it creates weakness, division, chaos, corruption, and deep social sickness. Diversity has ruined America. Even if all races were exactly the same, if there were no differences whatsoever, the fact that whites created America as we know it today means that we now have the right to demand that at least a portion of what we have created be set aside for our exclusive use. We did not create this great and wealthy country just to hand it over to an endless flow of mud-colored immigrants who have done nothing to earn what we have made, and who do not belong here.

5. [...] The electoral and political process has been undermined and corrupted, and turned into a weapon of genocide against America’s white inhabitants. The judiciary has become an instrument of racial and social tyranny. The United States has persistently refused to respond to all peaceful and legal efforts at reform [...].

6. Based upon the extensive history of the black and mestizo races, it is clear that they are not capable of creating or maintaining an advanced society. It was not Africans who invented such things as the wheel and gunpowder, forged steel, domesticated the horse, sailed the world on voyages of exploration and conquest, invented aviation and charted the mysteries of the human body. It was Europeans. Third World

immigration eventually means a Third World country. Racial integration and diversity is like mixing horse manure and ice cream. It does wonders for the manure, but it doesn't do much at all for the ice cream.

7. The loathsome perversion of homosexuality is absolutely unacceptable in any civilized society. It must be exterminated with fire and sword. This is not something that is subject to debate or argument. It is something that decent men simply do.

8. The unspeakable practice of infanticide by abortion is absolutely unacceptable in any civilized society. It must be brought to a halt immediately, and those who are guilty of trafficking in or profiting by this horror must be tried and punished for premeditated murder. This is not something that is subject to debate or argument. It is something decent men simply do.

9. The moral perversion known as feminism is destructive of the family, which is the basic building block of society, because it teaches the false idea that men and women are somehow competitors and enemies, and that the bearing and rearing of white children is somehow shameful. No more pernicious, poisonous and humanly destructive lie can be imagined. There must be an immediate return to sanity and the nuclear family headed by a married couple, husband and wife, as the basic building block of society.

10. There must be a final solution to the Jewish question.

11. [...] There can be no doubt that the white race is in danger of literal, physical extinction. All of the White nations on earth are now accepting large numbers of nonwhite immigrants. The only one of the three major races of earth that is in real danger of extinction is the white race. It is absolutely essential that the white race acquire a Homeland of its own, some place on earth where white children can be born and raised in physical and spiritual safety, and where our numbers may be restored and the threat of racial extinction overcome.

12. [...] While the Northwest Volunteer Army recognizes that we lack the power to overthrow that government completely and to take back our country in its entirety, for the sake of not only our own race but all of humanity, it is essential that the United States and the ruling elite which now controls the United States be clearly defeated in the eyes of world, and that at least some portion of the North American continent be detached from Federal control and returned to the original white people who created the world as we know it [...] (Covington, 2005, 233-236).

The white nationalist theory that these ideologies are part of an organized attack on the white race can be traced to several theoreticians on the Political left—including Antonio Gramsci, Hungarian Communist leader Bela Kun, the various members of the Frankfurt School for Sociological Research—Theodore Adorno, Walter Benjamin, and Max Horkheimer, as well as members of the New French Political left as exemplified by Jacques Derrida and Michael Foucault.<sup>130</sup>

Since white nationalists believe that Western civilization is the height of humanity's accomplishments, it is their duty to protect this achievement from being annihilated because of political correctness, multiculturalism, and diversity. Indeed, to many white nationalists, the crusade to defend the West and its values is as religious a crusade as the original Crusade to

<sup>130</sup> For a satiric look at the personalities and ideology of "cultural Marxism," see Ophelia Benson and Jeremy Stangroom, *The Dictionary of Fashionable Nonsense: A Guide for Edgy People* (London: Souvenir Press, 2004). For a favorable history on the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, see Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, 1923-1950* (New York: Little, Brown and Co., 1973). For a critical examination of the philosophy resulting from the Frankfurt School, see Michael Walsh, *The Devil's Pleasure Palace: The Cult of Critical Theory and the Subversion of the West* (New York: Encounter, 2015).

expel Islam from the Holy Land—it is a literal battle between the forces of light and the forces of dark—a true Manichean struggle to determine the fate of mankind.

### 3.5. Restating the Mindset of Traumatic Defeat

As has been shown, the trauma of shame, of defeat, of having dreams torn asunder is of overriding significance in the theory proposed by Scheff in this chapter. Applying his theories on a parallel track to Schivelbusch's theories on the culture of defeat, namely, the importance of the re-triggering of shame felt at the loss of the American Civil War by the Southern Confederacy and its ideological inheritors, contemporary American white nationalists, has been shown.

The Manichaeian struggle that contemporary white nationalists appear to be involved in further complicates the issue of the aspect of retriggering. If the political political left ideology is taken to its logical conclusion, the United States will, in the very near future, be a 'minority' majority country. However, the retriggering of trauma, the retriggering of shame, the 'creation' of 'Us,' as stipulated by the anonymous writer of the quote that headed this chapter, marks a very different turn in the retriggering cycle. As has been seen, Schivelbusch's theories on the culture of defeat and his examination of the defeated South lay the groundwork for the novels that follow, however, Scheff's theories on shame lay the overall theoretical foundation for the examination of the novels that follow in Chapter Four. Shame is of overriding importance in nationalist identity for it determines who the enemy is: the 'enemy' is the one who has shamed 'your' nation or your collective group. As has been seen throughout the last century, from post-World War One Germany's "stab in the back" myth, where Jews and Communists and unpatriotic Germans were blamed for the nation's defeat, to Slobodan Milošević's famous utterance in Kosovo in 1987 to Serbs in which he stated "No one should beat you," which, while directed at Serbs who had been beaten by the Albanian-dominated Kosovo police, became somewhat of a battle cry harkening back to the defeat of the medieval Serbian Empire at the hands of the Ottoman Turks on the exact same field, which became a national shame, and, as this chapter has argued, collective shame, can be of drastic importance to any nationalist group, be it ethnic, racial or religious.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> <http://www.slobodan-milosevic.org/news/smorg012504.htm>; alternately translated as "You will not be beaten." The interesting thing about this utterance was that it was not meant as a battle cry but was given in context of Serbs complaining about police harassment in Kosovo. However, it was taken by some Serbian nationalists as evidence that Slobodan Milošević was a Serbian nationalist, even though he had been a lifelong Communist. See also Tim Judah, *The Serbs: History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997).

However, as will be seen in Chapter Four, the novels written by the racist right, as viewed through the prism of the theory outlined in this chapter and Chapter Two show a specific form of trauma that has expressed itself in a combination of wish fulfillment, redemptive collectivism and in presenting the mythological foundations of a new nation, depending on the novel under examination. These novels illuminate the worldview of American white nationalism at the time of their writing; however, they also show a portion of American society that has yet to come to grips with its defeated culture. Furthermore, the shame at being denigrated and desire for vengeance because of that denigration also shines through the prisms of remembrance, redemption and revolution.

#### 4. Leitmotifs of White Nationalist Novels in the Prism of ‘Literary Psychohistory’

*“It’s about us. About whether we’re men or dogs, groveling and whimpering in front of this evil tyranny, thumping our tails between our legs and pissing on the floor in terror of their muscle-bound steroid thug cops and their FBI torturers in silk suits and their reptiles in black robes. Steve King is a friend of twenty years’ standing to all of us. What is being done to him ain’t right, and I’ve had enough of what ain’t right! No more!” Zack suddenly clenched his fist and roared aloud, a lifetime of rage and humiliation and contempt for the world around him welling up from his heart and his belly and his brain and bursting out of his body in an explosion” (Covington 2008, 32).*

*You hold the key to unlock our deepest desire,  
You hold the key  
To open a world before us  
And set us free,  
Break from this emptiness.  
I hunger for release.  
I long for deliverance! (Axis 2001, Deliverance)*

In examining the novels of the American white racist movement, it is necessary to limit the examination to several different themes that permeate the novels, namely so-called ‘blood memory’ or ‘racial memory,’ redemption and revolution. For the purposes of this chapter, these aspects are examined separately but it must be kept in mind that in the novels, all of these tropes dovetail in a character’s development from ordinary to white racial revolutionary. Whereas there are over fifty titles that could be classified as white nationalist, this chapter will concentrate on the novels that were published after 1939. The reason for the exclusion of the first three cycles, with the exception of Twiford’s *Sown in the Darkness, A.D. 2000* is that the novels published before 1939 are more white supremacist than white nationalist. Secondly, after the publication of *The Turner Diaries*, white nationalist authors turned more radical and revolutionary, marking the departure from mainstream racism that was present in American society before the mid-1960s. *The Turner Diaries* has not been examined because it has been analyzed from many angles by various researchers and is fairly well known while the novels in this work are not well known. Finally, with the rise of political correctness in overall American society, current white nationalist novels posit a completely different worldview than white nationalist novels written before 1939.

Since the themes of the novels will be examined through the theory outlined in Chapters Two and Three the analysis will revolve around how these aspects reveal the cultural trauma that has been and is experienced by white racialists. At this juncture, it might be worthy to restate the theory as proposed in Chapter Two that will be used as a prism to examine the novels in this chapter. The theory proposes the following hypotheses: (a) the novels written by the white nationalist right and others on the right are artifacts of a social group undergoing cultural trauma, (b) this trauma has been caused by several factors—the majority of these factors are associated with the perceived loss of the ‘culture wars’ that have wracked the United States since *Brown v. Board* in 1954 or since the 1830s depending on the author, (c) furthermore, the loss of the Confederacy in its attempt to break away from the United States has impacted current white nationalist thinking in that current white nationalists reminisce about the Confederacy and the Old South, (d) many of these ideas are expressed by Wolfgang Schivelbusch in his culture of defeat, and several of the stages that Schivelbusch outlines have been gone through by white nationalists. Taking these ideas into consideration, the theory is as follows: white nationalists express their desires, fears and trepidations in their novels, which also carry a compensatory potential both for the writers and for the audience. However, the ways in which these ideas are expressed vary between authors, although certain themes are constantly found in white nationalist novels: among the more popular are redemption from the ‘enchantment’ of progressive socialism, *anagnorsis* or cosmic illumination, dovetailing with the preceding idea is the idea of self-sacrifice and adhering to the idea of racial memory or recovering one’s ancient courage.

#### **4.1 Manifestations of Trauma in White Nationalist Novels (Analytical Case Studies)**

These leitmotifs are as delineated as presented in the following sections as would first appear. Oftentimes, characters come to the realization slowly, or experience an ‘awakening’ from their ‘enchantment’/‘bewitchment’ with progressivism, becoming true converts to the cause. More often than not, the various tropes interweave within one character and intertwine throughout a particular novel. Therefore, keeping this in mind, the specific themes will be examined in turn with blood memory being first; followed by redemption in subchapter 4.1.2;

finally, the trope of revolution is explored in subchapter 4.1.3. Finally, a concluding subchapter will recapitulate the findings of this chapter, which will lead to the general summary which will be found in subchapter 4.2.

### 4.1.1 Blood Memory

In white nationalist fiction, ‘blood memory’ is related to the racial spirit of a particular individual. While some, though not all, white nationalist authors will admit that other races have a ‘racial spirit,’ in white nationalist fiction, whites have the highest form of racial spirit and awareness. This spirit is inside all whites, according to the writings of various white racist theoreticians, and it only takes a spark or small event to awaken it. ‘Blood’ or ‘racial’ memory has been an important trope in various forms of American literature, ranging from white nationalist to American Indian to various ‘ethnic’ novels. It is interesting to note that while many scholars have accepted that American Indians can have an ‘ethnic’ memory or ‘blood memory,’ they scoff at such ideas being present in any other culture besides American Indian.<sup>132</sup>

The novels of white nationalism are based on a succinct understanding of race and one’s racial spirit. In contemporary white nationalist fiction the best example of the idea of having a racial or blood memory, the memory of one’s blood and how that racial memory reacts in times of crisis is the second novel in Covington’s *Northwest Novels* series, *A Distant Thunder*, which was published in 2004. In the novel, a future historian of the NAR (Northwest American Republic—the all-white country established in the Pacific Northwest by white racial separatists) is recording the reminiscences of Shane Ryan, a former guerrilla fighter in the NVA (Northwest Volunteer Army) and his experiences during the fight for freedom that eventually saw the formation of the NAR, a white racial homeland and independent nation, in the states of Idaho, Oregon, Washington, Wyoming and the western third of Montana. Ryan is attached to a ‘crew’ of resistance fighters that operate in cells; however, they also can combine for a major operation. One such operation involves the killing of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, a so-called ‘BK’ (‘Burger King’ or ‘Big Kike,’ used in Covington’s *Northwest Novels* to indicate a Jewish member of the ruling class), Sammy Rothstein. During the operation, Rothstein and his black

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<sup>132</sup> On ‘blood’ or ‘genetic’ memory, see <http://tpcjournal.nbcc.org/examining-the-theory-of-historical-trauma-among-native-americans/>.

bodyguard escape from the ambush and attempt to hide in the forest. Shane Ryan narrates the scene:

The black was in charge, and he feared the Northern forest. He didn't understand it. If he'd just had sense enough to run and hide in the woods until help came, then he and Rothstein might both have made it. Hell, I wasn't Daniel Boone. What was I going to do? Track them by their scent? But in moments of stress, racial and genetic instinct always comes to the fore. This wasn't Africa. This was the ancient landscape of my people, not his. Homey knew in his soul he was in De White Folks' House, and it overwhelmed him. The black man dared not face an Aryan warrior in the green forest of the Northland from which I and all of mine had sprung. It was in his very blood to avoid that. Instinctively, probably not even realizing what he was doing or understanding why, he was heading back to what he knew. Asphalt and concrete (Covington 2004, 39).

As authors, Covington and other American National Socialist authors, like *KD Rebel* author David Lane have a particular way of presenting racial memory. In essence, racial memory appears in combat or times of stress. While the theory is that each white person (who is 'truly' white and not an admixture of other races), has a racial memory, it does not surface until one is under immense psychological pressure, for instance, the 'fight or flight' mechanism. This aspect flows into the theory of redemption and also of being 'bewitched' by progressivism or liberalism with its accompanying ideologies of "cultural Marxism." While only some whites experience the essence of blood memory in the novels, it appears to be one of the most important aspects within the novels that all whites can experience if they could only reject the conditioning that modern society has subjected them to.

One of the ways in which blood memory asserts itself is by rejecting the 'Jewish'-inspired religion of Christianity and returning to the pagan gods of the ancient Teutons and Norse. In O. T. Gunnarsson's 1993 novel *Hear the Cradle Song*, one of the main characters, Don Saxena explains the problem with Christianity and its concept of 'winning by losing':

"Well let's see, we imported them [immigrants] into our countries from the third world, then we gave up our territory for their benefit, then we provided them with housing paid for by our tax dollars! But we didn't stop there, oh no! Then we gave them an education paid for by our tax dollars, and we made sure they had advantages for being hired in the job place over us through those affirmative action guidelines[...] We let them turn our neighborhoods into slums, our cities into crime-ridden wastelands, our schools in to jungles and we kept forgiving and understanding and sacrificing more and more! Why, we sacrificed our whole culture and background with it's [sic] traditions and promoted *their* primitive, tribal monkey-shines and we adapted to *their* needs in our own countries. We became *last* so they could be *first*! We practiced the Savior's recommendation of 'give to every man that asketh of thee' until now, we don't have a country anymore (Gunnarsson 1993, 156).

Since Christianity is the dominant religion of most whites, it is thought by many white nationalists that a return to the ancient pagan religions of Europe, particularly Scandinavia will



place the white race back in touch with its racial heritage.<sup>133</sup> In a further part of the book when the last community of whites and Jews in California is in danger of being overrun by Aztlan forces (the expanded Mexican state which has taken over California and the American Southwest) forces, another main character, Styrbjorn Tagesson reinforces the belief in blood memory through his speech to his men before the battle:

“Remember, in the myths Thor fights and slays enemies for the protection and well-being of the other gods and goddesses as well as for progress and expansion! Are you going to keep fighting until the last threat is destroyed?! Until the last alien is driven out of our territories starting with this community?! Will you find that invisible thread that reaches back through the distant corridors of time and connects you with those mighty heroes of old?! And will you let their power flow into you, their descendants, though that great thread, and laugh in the face of death [...]” (Gunnarsson 1993, 275).

In the next paragraph, the ideology of the present permutations of pagan white nationalism harken back to the post-World War One German Freikorps and their rejection of modernist ideology:

The men were now whipped into a complete state of warlike fury. As they stood there in front of their Chief, clutching their weapons and breathing hard with eyes aflame, they felt a mixture of enthusiasm and melancholy for those of their race who were now part of the past. They would not be fighting for the Stars and Stripes, or for George Washington’s vision, or for the Constitution. They would enter into battle fighting for future, as yet unborn generations and with a desire to do honor to those of their race who had won glory and renown in the heroic ages long ago. Modernism and all of its distorted and limp components didn’t treat consideration in the minds of Syrbjorn’s warriors. They saw no value in the current way of living and felt they [sic] there was nothing worth salvaging in it—to them everything worthwhile hinged on connecting with the power of those who had long since passed and with those yet to appear in an atmosphere of progress, cleanliness, and happiness, and nothing short of physical annihilation would stop them (Gunnarsson 1993, 275-276).

It is this rejection of modernism and its accompanying “race destroying” ideologies that weigh heavily on white nationalist authors. Within the novels, the hero or heroine normally comes to the realization slowly and it starts with a worrying thought or minor incident that grows into a realization that the races are not the same and that they have been out of touch with their “true” heritage and soul for years. This idea hits hard with the hero of Ward Kendall’s 2001 dystopian novel, *Hold Back This Day*. In the novel, the omnipotent World Gov controls everything and everyone. It has enforced miscegenation, sometimes at the point of the bayonet and has attempted to wipe out all traces of the different races but in particular, the white race.

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<sup>133</sup> See Mattias Gardell, *Gods of the Blood: The Pagan Revival and White Separatism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), particularly Chapter 4: “Wolf-Age Pagans: The Odinist Call of Aryan Revolutionary Paganism” and Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism and the Politics of Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), namely Chapter 13: “Nordic Racial Paganism”.

Jeff Huxton, the hero of *Hold Back This Day*, experiences an inkling of discomfort that will become a rebellion against World Gov when he and his family are traveling through Africa on a monorail,

[...]scanning the dark faces rowed behind him. Not one even remotely resembled his own, he realized. Not one stared back at him with eyes other than dark, or had skin other than brown. It was not so strange when one remembered that this was a monorail passing through the dark heart of Africa—until one realized that this journey had originated in Europe, and that these passengers on holiday were mostly native-born residents of that region. For a moment, Jeff felt an uneasiness stir within him, as if every dark eye behind him were fixed against his own blue ones in one remorseless implacable scrutiny (Kendall 2011 [2001], 2).

Jeff Huxton's 'uneasiness' would grow into a remorseless revolt at the omnipotent World Gov and eventually, he would find himself on Mars where the last refuge of the white race had fled to escape World Gov and its forced miscegenation.

The last few remaining pure whites had taken refuge in the Avalon colony, which had been established by the United States in 2073 on Mars. As he approaches the colony, the trope of racial memory comes to the fore and reinforces several other ideas commonly found in the genre. Hence, the book will be quoted at length:

Ahead, the towers of Avalon beckoned.

Beckoned to every gene and fiber in his body, like some ancient call to one's earliest beginnings. He was coming home at last, a wayward son of his Race now returning to fight a last battle against extinction. There would be others like him, sturdy men of Anglo- Saxon and Teutonic and Scandinavian heritage, men with a thousand years of unmatched courage coursing through their veins. And beside them would stand other men; men whose ancestors had risen along the halcyon shores of the Mediterranean, descendants of those who had pondered the universe and forged the foundation of all the world's knowledge. They too, side by side with their Northern brothers, would wage their last battle against the extinction of their common Race.

And against them would stand the mongrelized hordes of a multiculturalized humanity, those nineteen billion who had stolen the glories of a civilization they themselves could neither equal nor achieve. For such was the alpha and the omega of his people, Jeff realized, here upon these alien red sands. And if this was so, then what greater honor could he ever know than to die here at their side (Kendall 2011 [2001], 184-185)?

This quote illustrates several points that are important in understanding the defeated culture of contemporary American white nationalism. While it reinforces the idea of the "calling of one's blood," it also buttresses the argument that all European descended peoples are of one race, that the white race has been the progenitors of civilization to the exclusion of other races and that that race is under threat of extinction. In that sense, this quote serves as simultaneously a warning and a lamentation. The warning comes from those naysayers that say that multiculturalism is a good thing for everyone, including whites, and a lamentation for the idea that so many whites are prodigal sons and daughters, forgetting about their family—the white race.

Gregory Kay's neo-Confederate *The Third Revolution* cycle features two major instances of blood memory. In the first novel, the paramilitary white Southern revolutionaries, the Confederate Army Provisional or CAP are being tracked by the paramilitary forces of the FBI, BATFE (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives—commonly, ATF) and DHS (Department of Homeland Security). When their farm hideout is attacked, one of the main characters, former reporter Samantha Norris flees with another revolutionary, a big biker named Billy. As they approach a roadblock, Billy makes the decision to ram it:

“Hang on!” he shouted. “We’re going through!” Then he threw his head back and let out an inarticulate primordial battle cry that would not have been out of place on a Viking raid, a band of painted Celts sweeping down on a Roman legion, or rising from the Southern Armies [sic!] during Pickett’s charge at Gettysburg. Samantha was startled to hear a similar cry coming involuntarily from her own throat like a previously unknown yet irrepressible atavistic racial memory as their truck slammed into the roadblock at nearly seventy miles an hour (Kay 2004,283).

The “atavistic racial memory” always seems to take over when in battle, according to most white nationalist authors. Furthermore, the main character of the novels, former police officer Frank Gore, seems to have a ‘romantic’ and ‘pagan’ feeling about his ancestors. In the second of Kay’s *Third Revolution* cycle, *The Third Revolution II: The Long Knives*, Gore is talking to a rough and tumble former special forces soldier, Rob, about the path that the revolution has taken and the problems that might occur when it turns into a race war between blacks and whites:

“If it’s any comfort, Frank, nobody else really likes it either, not even the hard core racists like Hodges and some of the other skins [skinheads] when you really get down to it. It’s just one of those things, like in nature: sometimes one thing has to die so something else can live. Lord knows they’ve been killing us piecemeal long enough.”

“I know; that’s why I can accept it, regardless of how abhorrent it is. Like you said it’s nature, survival of the fittest. I don’t hate colored people as individuals, Rob; some of them, like Jennie May Summers, I loved almost like my own family. Still, as a race they’re among the enemies of my people, and it’s my own people I’m responsible to first. I’ve got to see to it that they live, whatever the cost to those outside. [...]

“Besides standing before God, some day [sic!] I’ll have to face my people that have gone on before. This may sound heathenistic, but I firmly believe they’ll ask me what I did with their legacy, and what I did to keep our line and the dreams they fought for while alive. I reckon I’d better have a good answer ready, because a man who won’t fight for his own isn’t a man at all” (Kay 2006, 376-377).

The point that is buttressed with this quote is not only the idea of racial memory but that all whites are part of one racial family and that one must continue to honor their memory. In the neo-Confederate novels in particular, one’s actions must reflect the honor the sacrifices of those Confederates who fought during the American Civil War. Racial memory is present but it takes a time of stress, like battle, for it to come to the forefront of one’s personality. However, once they

‘remember’ their racial heritage, the act of redemption follows, and it is to that theme that this work turns.

#### 4.1.2 Redemption

By far, redemption is the most popular trope within white nationalist fiction and has been present since the nascent beginnings of the genre in the post-Reconstruction South. In general, redemption serves the main purpose of allowing characters to ‘find their way home’ as it were, back into the white family. From the perspective of the theory proposed in Chapter Three redemption shows that any white can become ‘disenchanted’ with progressive ideas on race and ‘return to the fold’ as it were. The idea that social liberalism and “cultural Marxism” are ‘enchanted’ ideologies is a very popular theme in white nationalism and became so when integration and other forms of social change gained steam in the late 1970s. Many white nationalists believe that a great ‘awakening’ will occur among the average white population and the ‘veil’ of who is really behind the ideas of “cultural Marxism” and its associated ideologies will be lifted. However, before an examination of the trope of redemption begins, it must be stated that in general, white nationalist novels published between 1921 (with the exception of Thomas Nelson Page’s *Red Riders*, published posthumously in 1924) and 1978 were influenced by three earth-shattering books: Madison Grant’s *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916) and Lothrop Stoddard’s *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy* (1921) and his *Revolt Against Civilization: The Menace of the Under Man* (1922). These books were and are highly influential in white nationalist thought. In fact, it could be argued that all white nationalist books published after these three polemics continue to reinforce the themes within them. The cultural battles waged by white nationalists and conservatives in general against political correctness are a result of the work done by Grant and Stoddard, as was examined briefly in Chapter One. Stoddard looked at the First World War, calling it a “white civil war” and saw the crisis in Western civilization before anyone else in the United States, besides Grant. Stoddard’s first book used the new science of demographics and determined that the rise of what would become the Third World (mainly Asia and Africa but also, South America) would overthrow white world domination through outbreeding the white population. Stoddard’s second book

examined the ‘horrors’ of Communism—in Hungary, the then emerging USSR, the failed Spartacist revolt in Bavaria and elsewhere and determined that this ideology and associated ideologies—feminism, democratic socialism and to a certain extent, liberal Christianity spelled the end of the white race.

The most important aspect of Grant and Stoddard’s works is that they lay the problem of Communism and the “white civil war” at the feet of the Jews—thus, influencing future white nationalist theoreticians and writers. Before that time, most white nationalist theoreticians and writers concentrated on issues dealing with race in the United States, mainly the problem with the freed slaves or the influx of “Chinamen” into California but not the Jews.<sup>134</sup> However, that started to change with increased immigration of Jews from Central/Eastern Europe in the 1890s, and their influence over certain industries, especially Hollywood.<sup>135</sup> The “Jewish” influence, it was felt, was changing moral attitudes in the 1920s and was responsible for the rising crime and perversion.<sup>136</sup>

To restate the basis of the idea of redemption in the white nationalist context, redemption is akin to the idea of becoming literally ‘disenchanted’ or un-enchanted with liberalism or progressivism and embrace the true calling of one’s blood, that of race. This process is normally gradual, as seen in the previous subchapter; however, it can strike a character in a ‘flash of cosmic consciousness’ as will be seen in this subchapter. Therefore, this section will examine the

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<sup>134</sup> For more on Grant and Stoddard, see respectively, Jonathan P. Spiro, *Defending the Master Race: Conservation, Eugenics, and the Legacy of Madison Grant* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2009) and James R. Bachmann, “Theodore Lothrop Stoddard: The Bio-sociological Battle for Civilization,” Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1966. Bachmann’s dissertation has not been published and Stoddard remains a fairly unknown quantity in the study of both American white nationalism and the history of racism in the United States. This is a major tragedy, as it ignores the overwhelming influence that Grant had on Stoddard and that Grant’s and Stoddard’s writings had on the emerging American white nationalist movement in the 1920s-1940s.

<sup>135</sup> While it may seem racist to state that Hollywood is controlled by Jews, it must be kept in mind that this is not a big secret in the Jewish community. Indeed, Hollywood and the ‘other’ Hollywood, i.e. the pornography community in the San Fernando Valley is known to be a virtual Jewish monopoly. See Neal Gabler, *An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Invented Hollywood* (New York: Random House, 1990), updated and in many editions, J. Hoberman and J. Shandler, *Entertaining America: Jews, Movies and Broadcasting* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), and Michal Renor, *From Shetl to Stardom: Jews and Hollywood* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2016). For Jews in the ‘adult’ industry, i.e. ‘porn,’ see Legs McNeil, *The Other Hollywood: An Uncensored Oral History of the American Adult Film Industry* (New York: The Free Press, 2006) and various issues of *Adult Video News*, available at [www.avn.com](http://www.avn.com).

<sup>136</sup> For an examination of Antisemitism in the United States, see Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994) and Frederic Cople Jaher, *A Scapegoat in the Wilderness: The Origins and Rise of Anti-Semitism in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994). It is interesting also that Jews do not feature prominently in white nationalist novels before the publication of *The Turner Diaries* in book form in 1978, though they are obliquely mentioned in William Twiford’s 1941 novel *Sown in the Darkness: A. D. 2000*.

trope through the characters of Felix Hyde, the fallen Cosmocrat leader in William R. Twiford's 1941 novel *Sown in the Darkness*, A. D. 2000, John Schmidt, the history professor turned white nationalist in the 1988 novel by Michael A. Hoffman II *A Candidate for the Order* and two female protagonists penned by H. A. Covington, Kristen Kicky McGee from 2008's *The Brigade* and Georgia Myers from 2013's *Freedom's Sons*.

William Twiford's 1941 combination Yellow Peril, red peril and white separatist novel features several typical white nationalist themes, including a small group of educated and dedicated white revolutionaries, faith in the supremacy of the white race, an all-powerful federalized government and an evil ideology, Cosmocracy (a combination of the more liberal attitudes within Christianity and Communism), that is intent on destroying the power of the white race in the United States, and the world. However, the most obvious trope is that of redemption. In the novel, the Cosmocrat leader, Felix Hyde, fights the white revolutionaries tooth and nail, engaging in assassination attempts of the leaders, using the sexual prowess of his daughter, Marie, to ensnare one of the white Separatist leaders, all the while hiding his hypocrisy towards other races. This is also another important point within the theory of the defeated culture—namely, many white nationalists believe that their opponents do not really believe in the equality that they so often preach. For Felix Hyde, the hypocrisy explodes when his daughter decides to marry a black boxer, the Bruiser. The confrontation between the two shows the white nationalist attitude towards, what they believe to be, the hypocrisy of their ideological opponents:

Felix Hyde was furious when he learned that his daughter was planning to marry a Negro. He had encouraged, through his championing of Cosmocracy, the ignoring of the color line; but his doctrine of the equality of man which he had so greatly furthered was for others not for himself. [...]

“Daughter, what the hell is this I hear about you and that damn black?”

Marie bristled. “Since when have the blacks become damned, Dad? You had one as a law partner,” she fired back.

“That makes no difference, daught,” Hyde thundered, “No white girl has any business marrying a black.”[...] “Listen, daught, don’t you know that if you marry the Bruiser you will disgrace yourself in the minds of all your white friends? They know that when we say the races should be equal that we are just doing it to get the votes we need to win” (Twiford 1941, 159-160).

While Marie goes on to marry the Bruiser and have a child by him, she eventually commits suicide, simultaneously killing the child by jumping off a bridge. The above quote exemplifies the idea that even the most ardent white liberals/progressives are not above the “call of the blood.” After the defeat of the Cosmocrats in the 1997 elections and Felix Hyde's ‘dirty tricks’ were exposed, he was imprisoned in a cell of ‘Cosmocratic’ design, commonly known as the

‘Hellhole’ or, simply, the ‘hole’—a four foot by eight foot concrete cell thirty feet below ground with a mat, a small washbasin and an electric bulb, which was only turned on at mealtimes, “The inmate of the ‘hole’ was therefore kept in almost continual darkness” (Tucker 1941, 219). It was in this cell that Hyde was destined to spend the rest of his natural life; however, he had been given a Bible from the Salvation Army, who after a few days started to sing to Hyde. These singers were “bringing something that he could hold onto. Yes, even in the dark.” In particular, there was one song that he wanted to hear and begged them to sing it again:

“Sing that last line again, won’t you, please?” begged Hyde.  
 His wish was granted, and then the army squad faced up the corridor and marched away to the stirring chords of:  
 “No, never alone, alone  
 No, never alone,  
 He has promised never to leave thee,  
 Never to leave thee alone.”  
 “Never alone,” echoed Hyde, and then this once mighty boss whose word had been law to myriad followers fell down upon his knees, grasped the iron bars of the cell and tried to pray (Twiford 1941, 223-224).

In the chapter from which the above quote comes, it is the play of ‘darkness’ and ‘light’ that are important, because Twiford was writing from a Christian context, and in a sense, Hyde is similar to the figure of Saul of Tarsus (the Church Father Paul) on the road to Damascus receiving illumination from God and changing his life. When his old nemesis, the Separatist leader Robert Truman, visited Hyde, Truman removed him from the cell and ordered him taken to the prison hospital, berating the warden with the words, “‘Are you a man or a beast?.., Look,’ commanded Robert, pointing at Hyde. ‘Only a beast could treat a human being like that. Get this man out of here,’ he thundered” (Twiford 1941, 240). This quote echoes the white nationalist belief that while whites may be ‘barbarians’ at heart, they are not cruel and are morally superior to their opponents.

Hyde’s final ‘disenchantment’ with Cosmocracy came when he was lying in the prison hospital with Robert Truman, the man he had tried to kill on numerous occasions sitting by his bed. “Hyde frankly laid bare the secret plans of the world Cosmocracy. Then the repentant prisoner made his last plea. He begged Robert to be allowed to die for his country, as he felt that was the only way by which he could atone. He insisted that he be granted this opportunity to lay down his life for, he said, “the man who was once my bitterest enemy but who has now proven my best friend, in fact the only friend I have on earth” (Twiford 1941, 241). As so often happens in white nationalist novels, redemption is followed by atonement, meaning the

redemptive ‘prodigal’ white has to atone for his or her past actions by their death, preferably by taking racial enemies with them. For Felix Hyde, the end came in a cave in the Yucatan, where the “yellow” armies had stored a vast amount of munitions and supplies:

“I am talking to you, Robert. You are now viewing the passageway in the great underground storehouse of the yellow armies on the northeast tip of the Yucatan Peninsula. The officers who are looking for me will soon intercept this message and will come. Before they do so I want to say good-by to you, Robert, to Ragor and Pat [the other Separatist leaders] and all the rest of you. And may God bless you!”

As the last words died away the heavy fall of racing footsteps was heard coming down the passageway, and then a stern command to the spy to “Throw up your hands!” echoed down the corridor. But the spy did not put up his hands. Instead he quickly drew his pistol and fired into the open G. N. D. [“an ultrapowerful explosive”—sic, similar to Semtex, as described in the novel]. A mighty flash lit up the screen before the eyes of Robert and Ragor, then all was dark (Twiford 1941, 246-247).

Hyde’s sacrifice is a logical outcome of his wish for atonement for his sins against, not only his country but the white race. Twiford wrote his novel within the typical ‘old-time’ white supremacist discourse that was fairly common in the first four decades of the twentieth-century among the ‘hard right’ of the Protestant movement in the United States.<sup>137</sup> Hence, his approach to the problems of race echo certain Progressive or 2<sup>nd</sup> Era Ku Klux Klan beliefs in Protestant Christianity and a concentration on salvation through sacrifice, which reinforces the ideas stated in the previous subchapter on ‘winning by losing.’ Also, Felix Hyde’s sacrifice, like Jeff Huxton’s in the Avalon colony on Mars in the last subchapter, allows the white race to survive.

Reinforcing this point is the concept of changing the system from within or racially aware whites working within American society and being allowed their ideologies and lives by the system; in essence, taking the best that America has to offer, at least in material possessions, and remaining loyal to one’s race—the white race, in the writings of the authors. The current American fascination with the ‘nanny’ state and its accoutrements has been a topic of not only white nationalist, but also libertarian and TEOTWAWKI novels. While not necessarily white nationalist in tone, meaning the novel does not necessarily approach race from a white nationalist perspective, Nathan W. Tucker’s 2013 novel *Letters from Cell No. 73* approaches the idea of American society’s infatuation with ‘statism,’ when the main character, Colonel Peter Iossi, states in Letter VI:

Tragically, there were precious few politicians who talked about liberty anymore in America. Instead of worshipping individual freedom, the religion in the birthplace of modern democracy was the god of statism. Rather than relying on Providence, man turned to the state for his daily bread. The only sacrifice

<sup>137</sup> See Leo P. Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1983) for more information on the milieu of the old, ‘hard’ Protestant right.



required was national suicide—the exchange of rights for handouts, liberty for domestication, responsibility for nannyism.

This new god, however, was not a franchise of any particular political party. Both Republicans and Democrats worshipped at the altar of the state, believing in its saving power for mankind. Political elections became a religious festival of state worship in which competing political saviors offered us earthly salvation in return for genuflection (Tucker 2013, 48).

The all too often heard lament that the country ‘is not what it used to be’ or that ‘our’ country is not ‘ours’ anymore among white nationalists and other like-oriented groups is seen in the above quote. In essence, both libertarians and white nationalists believe that statism or ‘nannyism’ has been the downfall of the country and that the WASP work ethic should be reinstated throughout the country’s morals, instead of people relying on ‘handouts’ from the government. Col. Peter Iossi believed in the principles of the United States, as did the hero of 1988’s *A Candidate for the Order* by Michael A. Hoffman II, John Schmidt, a former university literature professor who tried to work within the system, only to be betrayed by the system he fervently believed in. In the novel, while John Schmidt had been trained by a white nationalist teacher in the Classics and various forbidden philosophies, he tried to work within the system to live a normal life, however, he was fired from his job as a college professor when he ran afoul of his superiors as he started to question certain truths—mainly involving the Holocaust and Jewish domination of American culture. In a conversation with a reporter who wanted to report on the story of Schmidt’s children being attacked by neighborhood thugs, who were black, white (described as a ‘whigger’ in the novel) and Asian, Schmidt lays out his philosophy of who is to blame for the present lack of decency and morality in American society:

“There’s a funny quality to reality which I’ve noticed [...] It’s that facts don’t go away just because the media and the academy have built up an elaborate attack on them. The bottom line is: What if there were Jewish plots and conspiracies? Should I fail to investigate them and if necessary expose them just because you gentlemen of the fourth estate deny their reality? I’m sorry, but your profession doesn’t carry that kind of weight with me. I was brought up to question authority and where reality comes into conflict with the System’s ‘Chosen People’ I opt for reality (Hoffman 1988, 48).

This bit of a conversation reinforces the point that white nationalists have been making for several decades, mainly that the cultural discourse refuses to acknowledge their right to be heard without being shouted down for being ‘racist’ or ‘anti-Semitic.’ With the victory of political correctness, in particular, and the recent controversies over the flying of the Confederate battle flag, the BLM (Black Lives Matter) movement and Dylann Roof’s murder of nine blacks at a Charleston church in 2015, the culture seems to be vehemently against any acknowledgement of white nationalist attitudes or expression of its ideology. Furthermore, the ideology itself appears

to have been defeated in the cultural arena, which only reinforces the sense of victimization among white nationalists. In his encounter with a childhood friend, turned white nationalist revolutionary and member of white revolutionary organization known as the Order, John Schmidt desperately tries to reason that working within the system is a better alternative to mayhem and racial revolution:

Schmidt answered him in kind, “And you were always a hothead, Brent [Bane] and that’s not a good side of anybody. If anything, you and your band of crazies are destroying our chances to convince people that our cause is just.

The Order commander folded his arms on his chest and stood with his legs apart, like an oak tree anchored to the living room floor. “How’s so, Schmidt?”

“Because the friggin’ System is everywhere pushing the image of the White Man as moral leper, hater and gas chamber baby-killer and you and your gang just help the *New York Times* and the other rags hang the label on our people all the more.”

“Oh, now I get it. You want me to worry about my image in the Jew media?” Bane mocked. Turning to the giant [his companion] he asked, “Maybe we ought to hire a PR man from Madison Avenue and beg the kikes for a trade-off: we’ll stop fighting their toxic world order of filthy lies, industrial pollution, mental genocide against the White race, destruction of our Constitutional Republic and coverup [sic] of nigger crime and they in turn will accord us the privilege of being known as responsible conservatives in the pages of their august journals. Is that it, Schmidt? (Hoffman 1988, 75)

The above quote, while containing a few racial epithets, illustrates several salient points about the current state of the debate between those white nationalists who feel that it is best to work within the system and revolutionaries like Brent Bane.<sup>138</sup> In the majority of white nationalist novels, most heroes/heroines start out like John Schmidt and end up like Brent Bane—the progression from ordinary to revolutionary being an event in which the system destroys any faith that a character might have had in the old system. For John Schmidt, that comes when his children and wife are attacked by a multiracial group of neighborhood thugs. While the police seem sympathetic at first, the following morning, his wife, Geraldine is arrested for attempted murder, violation of the U.S. ‘Hate Crime’ statute for attacking a Vietnamese thug who had attacked her two sons and endangering the welfare of a child (because of her and her husband’s racial beliefs). Unfortunately for John Schmidt, he had befriended a reporter who had used him to advance the reporter’s career and who offered no help. Schmidt’s wife had her two sons and two daughters taken away from her by CPS (Child Protective Services) and she was brought before a Jewish judge who admonishes her:

“But I warn you, Mrs. Schmidt, the crime of racism is a serious one and more serious still is the indoctrination of the age-old scourge of hatred and bigotry.”

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<sup>138</sup> For more on this debate, see the mainstream study of white nationalism by Leonard Zeskind, *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream* (New York: Farrar Strauss Giroux, 2009). In examining the American white nationalist movement, Zeskind concentrates on two groups—the ‘mainstreamers’ and the ‘vanguardists,’ both groups are exemplified in the quote above.

“But all we did was protect ourselves,” she cried out through her tears, her lovely face distorted into a frowning, watery mask.

“I have heard that excuse before,” the judge intoned knowingly. “Fifty years ago it was used to haul Jews to the gas chambers, the soap factories and the burning pits[...]. Our society, under the rule of law, must be eternally vigilant against those who would attempt to sow the seeds of discord within our pluralistic nation, who would exploit community tensions for their own sinister ends as was done by the likes of Streicher and Goebbels fifty years ago[...].”

“But John and I obeyed your laws, we only wanted to be political left alone, to live our lives in peace and raise our children in accordance-[...]” (Hoffman 1988, 127-128).

At that point the judge becomes hysterical and berates Geraldine Schmidt even more. Eventually a rescue party from the Order rescues Geraldine Schmidt from the court, killing the judge and several police officers in the process. The main point in the quote above is that, like the culture itself, white nationalists’ sense that the court system is stacked against them. The legal profession, they feel is “riddled” with their enemies and people who feel animosity toward any sense of white pride. Because of his wife and children’s experiences with the court system and the care of CPS, John Schmidt decides to join the Order. As explained in a conversation between ‘The Old Man’ (the white nationalist leader in the novel) and Brent Bane (the Order Commander):

“Yes, our dearly beloved Zionist Occupation Government is an intolerant master. Someone like our candidate [John Schmidt] here wasn’t hoping for much, just the tiniest corner in which to be with his own kind; raise his children as he saw fit. Come and go without molestation and without the brainwash [in the novel, the Schmidt’s homeschooled their four children].

“He certainly had faith in the system, sir,” Bane said. And faith that the system would leave a non-violent separatist such as himself in peace.”

“I take it he’s not so lamb-like now.”

“No sir—and you should see his dependents.”

“Fierce and Viking-like, I would imagine.”

“They are awake to their Berserker heritage, yes sir.”

“White rage is the most illegitimate of Aryan emotions in the Establishment’s litany of heresy. The System has given it no quarter and no safety valve for relief,” said the Old Man.

“People have to surrender their minds and autonomy to the System, sir. The least dissent gets them labeled as neo-Nazi exterminators. It’s all or nothing with ZOG.”

“All or nothing. The ZOG won’t allow a middle ground between us and it” (Hoffman 1988, 148).

As reflected in the quote above, the “Berserker heritage” is a part of and reinforces the motif of blood memory as explored in the previous subchapter. Furthermore, in the previous chapter, an exploration of the idea that both sides in the conflict over the ideas of white nationalism view each other as the epitome of evil, the basis of everything that the other side is against was conducted and the above quote illustrates that point. Therefore, if either side completely wins this cultural contest, the hopes of the other side are trampled in the dust and rent asunder. ‘All or nothing’ is a very apt description as the project moves on to the writings of H. A. Covington, for

here is a writer for which the lack of a white homeland in the United States means the physical destruction of the white race.

The last redemptive characters share many of the traits of the previous characters that have thus far been examined in this subchapter; however, the last two characters are uniquely different than the others in that they are both female. Women figure prominently as redemptive characters, particularly in more modern white nationalist novels. The two primary examples of this are in H. A. Covington's *The Brigade*, published in 2008, and his 2013 novel, *Freedom's Sons*. While it may be surprising to some to find strong female characters in what is primarily, an overwhelmingly male-dominated political discourse and ideology, female warriors have been present since the first stirrings of the genre that began with the writings of Thomas Dixon. Indeed, in *The Clansman*, the main character's former love interest suicides because she was raped by a black soldier, and in her eyes, could be seen the black soldier who had raped her. Indeed, it is this act that leads to the Ku Klux Klan riding to the rescue of other white women and redeeming the county from the hands of white traitors and freed slaves. However, in the sequel to *The Birth of a Nation*, entitled *The Fall of a Nation* (published in 1916), Dixon imagines the United States as being invaded by the forces of a united Europe, which after two years of useless war, decide to come to terms and attack the United States, along with a Fifth column of recently arrived immigrants. While the novel fits into the short-lived America Invaded subgenre of the Yellow Peril and First Red Scare novels, which are subgenres of the utopian and dystopian novels of the last two decades of the nineteenth to the first two decades of the twentieth century, the novel is important as it is the first novel that features white women engaging in combat and dying and killing along with their male counterparts. This feature would continue with the publication of *The Turner Diaries* in 1978, and various other white nationalist books up to the recent publication of Billy Roper's *Hasten the Day* trilogy—published in 2014 and 2015. However, it is Covington that vividly portrays the female white revolutionary in a way that brings the redemptive qualities to the fore.

In *The Brigade*, Kristen 'Kicky' McGee joins the Northwest Volunteer Army because she wants to get back at those who have hurt her, and to destroy the "wretched" society that forced her to sell her body for money. In this part of the subchapter, her redemption from being a washed-out junkie and prostitute turned police informant to NVA (Northwest Volunteer Army—

the white revolutionaries fighting for an independent homeland in the Pacific Northwest) “gun-bunny” and revolutionary hero will be considered.

Kicky McGee’s path to redemption began when she witnessed the murder of her pimp by African American cops. While McGee was not a firm believer in any form of government, she was a prostitute and crack addict, more “addicted to pleasure and pain” than to her family. After making contact with a couple of the revolutionaries, she is brought into the group by being interviewed by one of the NVA’s female members ‘Ma’ Wingfield. During the interview, McGee articulates her reasons for wanting to join the revolutionaries:

I just want in with the NVA [Northwest Volunteer Army] to try and make some kind of better life for me and my baby, and well, I told myself I’d be honest with you, so I’ll say it. I want revenge! Revenge against some specific people who have hurt me, yes, but mostly just revenge on this whole damned filthy world that has never done anything except shit on me! I am just so tired of bad people winning all the time, so sick of nothing ever being right or good anymore (Covington 2008, 212).

Earlier in the novel, one of the male heroes, Zack Hatfield also states his reasons for throwing in his lot with the racist revolutionaries, which echo McGee’s words:

For generations we have dutifully trooped to the polls like sheep and voted in elections where we were given no meaningful choice, and where not one single candidate or party represented the white man’s racial interests. Nothing changed except the politicians grew more and more coarse and corrupt, more cynical and contemptible. For almost a hundred years now we have been betrayed at every turn by the men we voted into office, [...] We have shouted and screamed NO at the top of our lungs, and we have been ignored and spat upon and called haters for our trouble. [...] It is now crystal clear to any white man with two brain cells to rub together that the only thing that will make these dogs in power hear the word *no* is the sound of gunfire (Covington 2008, 46-47).

While it could be argued that these sentiments are fairly common among all classes and all races in the U.S., it seems to be more apparent among a certain sector of the white population, the lower and lower middle working classes. Hence, Covington’s tapping into this frustration and turning it on its head and revealing ‘what can be done’ about the situation that many white Americans find themselves is a uniquely revolutionary way of looking at the problem of having one’s culture and beliefs ‘trampled on’ by an uncaring government.. Admittedly, as postulated by Michael Kimmel in *Angry White Men: American Masculinity at the End of an Era*, right-wing movements are “almost always nostalgic, seeking to restore something that has been lost rather than create something new. Words like restoration, reclamation, retrieval, and revival saturate white supremacist discourse,” (Kimmel 2013, 264) and the racist revolutionaries of the NVA are attempting to “reclaim” their birthright as white men and women. However, they are also attempting to build something new—a new nation. Likewise, there is a novel that comes from the political left that reinforces this aspect of the path to redemption.

Stuart Archer Cohen's eco-revolutionary novel *Army of the Republic*, on the other hand, does not have such lofty goals, though it does tap into some of the problems with how someone can reach the point to join a violent revolutionary organization. Overall, his characters appear to be in tune more with the times than Covington's. However, some of his characters ominously echo Zack Hatfield's comments from above. One of Cohen's characters, Joe Simic, leads a protest group called 'The Throwaways' made up of some military veterans, homeless people and others on the fringes of American society. Simic is all about taking direct action against the corporations in league with the government that he says have 'sold out' the American people. In a conversation with Emily Cortright of the Seattle-based protest group Democracy Northwest, Simic states:

But then you get into facts, and facts don't matter a whole bunch when you're barely holding on. These folks [the protestors] have got their own Web sites, their own news channels. They got a whole set of facts that tell 'em that they're the smart ones, the hard-nosed, commonsense workers, and you're just Patagonias: rich people who went to college and want to lord it over everyone else." He softened his voice: "I know: it ain't pretty. I'm just telling you this so you'll understand. These people are scared. They've lost control of their lives, and when you're powerless, carrying a gun and blowing things up makes you feel pretty powerful again (Cohen 2008, 308).

For Kicky McGee, her actions as part of the NVA give her a sense of power and purpose, mainly because the NVA has a prohibition about its members using alcohol or drugs. One of the most interesting parts of the novel involving McGee is when the NVA revolutionaries try to assassinate the Vice President of the United States while he was visiting Portland, Oregon. While Kicky had been informing on the NVA for a couple of months, her inner voice had started to bother her, and with the attempted assassination of the VP of the U.S., she finally revolted against her handlers, the FBI and Portland Police Dept., thinking to herself:

*I can't do this!* Kicky's brain shouted at her. *I will become an evil person if I do this. I won't deserve Ellie [her daughter] if I get her back like this. The price is too high. If I do this, someday she will know that I saved her at the price of my own soul and with the blood of brave men, and she will despise me for it* (Covington 2008, 365).

Her rebellion against her FBI and Portland police department 'handlers' had started when she was given the "Party's" manual, and instructed to read it, thinking to herself, as she read:

*My God!* thought Kicky in wonder, trying to understand and assimilate the wild heresy before her, which contradicted everything she had ever been taught in her life. *These NVA people actually expect me to THINK!* It was a strange sensation. For the first time in her adult life, someone was trying to reach her, to teach her something they thought she need to know for her own good instead of something that would serve the interest of the rich people and empowered minorities. [...] The very idea that anyone seriously expected her to sit down and think about something instead of buy something, stunned her. Suddenly a thought arose

in her mind unbidden. *These are the only people I've ever met who don't want to fuck me, in one way or another.* She liked it.<sup>139</sup>

For Kicky, her final act of redemption occurred one cold night in January when the NVA decided to try and attack the 'snitch gate' at the Portland police department compound. This gate was where all informants went into the compound and received their pay for informing on 'domestic terrorists.' Kicky was dressed as a lawyer, and was followed by her lover, Jimmy Wingo and another operative. Unfortunately, she was recognized by two of her former handlers with the Portland Police Department who grabbed her as she exited her car:

"Who the fuck do you think you are, you gringo whore?" she [Det. Lainie Martinez] screamed. "Didn't I tell you once that you control nothing, you decide nothing, that you *are* nothing" This isn't your country anymore, gringo bitch! It belongs to us, to *La Raza*, you got that, *puta blanca?*" Kicky twisted her head, and through the window she saw Jimmy and Oscar moving toward the car, weapons at the ready.

*He is coming for me*, she thought hysterically. The Sword of Damocles over her head had fallen, and her life was now at an end. *He* [Jimmy Wingo] *loves me, and now he's going to die for my worthless sake. If he lives it will be worse, because they will tell him. He will finally know me for what I am. He will look at me. I can't bear that.* Kicky pulled the briefcase onto her knees and placed her thumbs on the lock releases [...] There was a blinding flash of light. [...] As [Oscar] Hill floored the accelerator and the car fled the area, the sun tipped over the concrete skyline to the east and flooded Second Avenue with the golden light of a new day (Covington 2008, 689-690).

To restate one point in the quote that relates to self-sacrifice, the fact that someone sacrifices him or herself for the betterment or even survival of the race is all important in the novel, as expressed by the phrase, "[...] the golden light of a new day" in the above quote. While this idea may not be obvious, it is a reinforcement of Schivelbusch's idea that "history does not allow for complete annihilation." As related to the theories proposed in Chapters Two and Three, this idea further restates the prospect that regardless of how horrible society forces a person to live, there is always a possibility that the white man or woman can return to the fold, as long as they do not lose sight of what the sacrifice is for—the future of the white race, white children. As stated on the 'The Memorial Wall' of "black basalt" inscribed with all the names of those from the NVA and NDF (Northwest Defence Force) who sacrificed themselves during the War for Independence:

*"Beloved kinsmen, from the world of darkness into which we were born, from the time of struggle in which we laid down our lives that you and your children may walk in the light, we greet you"* (Covington 2008, 732).

<sup>139</sup> (Covington 2008, 227), emphasis in the original. It must be clarified here that, while Kicky McGee was a prostitute, she had a strict rule that she would have no clients that were minorities—no blacks, Jews, or other non-whites. Finally, what she had been reading was the Northwest Front's party manual, *The White Book*. The most important portion of which is found on page 224 of *The Brigade*. *The White Book* has also been banned in Canada and the United States.

This notion is further buttressed in the character of Georgia Myers from the final novel in Covington's 'Northwest Saga,' *Freedom's Sons*, published in 2013. In *Freedom's Sons*, the first 50 years of the NAR (the Northwest American Republic—the country that the NVA white revolutionaries like Kicky McGee—were fighting to establish in Covington's *The Brigade*, and its problems are examined.<sup>140</sup> The redemptive role in *Freedom's Sons* is played by a strong female spy, who uses her body and mind to spy on the United States president, Hunter Wallace. That character is Georgia Myers, a 'Lost Baby,' one whose mother took her to Washington, D.C. to live with her grandmother, because she did not want to live under the 'Nazi' regime of the NAR—the Northwest American Republic. Georgia Myers was born and lived her first ten years in Missoula, Montana; however, when the NAR (Northwest American Republic) won its independence after five years of violent insurrection by the NVA (Northwest Volunteer Army—the white separatist revolutionaries), her mother decides that she will not live under the 'Nazi' regime and flees with Georgia to her mother's house in Washington, D. C. Georgia Myers' grandmother is "a Washington, D. C. socialite who had never met a political left wing or liberal cause she didn't like, no matter how far out" (Covington 2013, 49).

In the novel, the beautiful, statuesque blonde Georgia Myers catches the eye of the president at a party and is recruited to be his 'personal assistant'—or 'personal prostitute' might be a more apt description which had been common practice since the days of Bill Clinton, at least as described in the novel. Meanwhile, the military intelligence apparatus of the NAR recruits Georgia Myers to act as a spy, considering that Georgia Myers will be about as close to the president as anyone can get. Throughout the course of her time as a spy, she relays information to the NAR, which, while it does not stop the planned invasion of the NAR by the United States, the information allows the NDF (Northwest Defence Force) to anticipate the invasion and stop the three invasion columns just inside the borders of the NAR. However, as the war goes badly for the United States, President Wallace's most trusted advisors, two Jews—his Secretary of State and his Press Secretary (who is more powerful than her position implies) urge the president to attack the NAR with nuclear weapons, meaning that the states of Idaho, Oregon, Washington, Wyoming and the western third of Montana—the area of the NAR—would 'glow in the dark.' The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is vociferous in his opposition to this action, but the president seems convinced of it and, after the NAR assassinates the two Jews for

<sup>140</sup> In an earlier novel, *A Mighty Fortress* (published in 2005), Covington examines the Longview Conference which establishes the NAR and forces "the 'Beast' and its minions" (the Federal government) out of the Pacific Northwest.



advocating the nuclear annihilation of their country in the Pacific Northwest, the president starts the process for launching the nuclear weapons.

Since the Vice President, who is from Oregon, is also against the nuking of the NAR, even though he hates the NAR, he allows Georgia Myers to go into the Oval Office to dissuade the president from his plan of action. As she was allowed into the office by the Vice President:

Wallace looked up. "Hi, Georgie!" he said like an excited child.

"Hunter, stop!" she said. "You can't do this!"

"Sure I can!" he giggled. "I'm the president! I can do anything I want now! They're going to be sorry now. Sorry they went against the Apple of God's eye [Jews]! Sorry they laughed at me and refused to recognize my genius back in those days when I offered myself to be their leader, [...] You want me to drop a couple of extra hot shots on Missoula for you, dear, and make sure we fry that racist old man of yours to a crispy critter?"

In one instantaneous flash of cosmic consciousness, Georgia understood. This man was hopelessly insane, beyond all reason, and he was in the process of destroying her childhood and her blood right before her eyes. She knew what had to be done, she understood the price, and she accepted it. There was no conscious thought involved (Covington 2013, 493).

The 'price' that Georgia Myers accepted was her life. She picks up a red pencil and stabs the president of the United States in the eye. He "jumped up and screamed like an animal in mortal agony, blood spurting from his exploded eyeball in a fountain that soaked Georgia's yellow blouse and leather skirt, and then he turned and ran headlong into the wall at full speed. He fell to the floor, flopped and writhing, vomiting, screaming again and again like a soul burning tin hell, pissing himself and shitting in his pants. Then he quivered and died" (Covington 2013, 494). She was killed by a black Secret Service agent in the following minutes. At her burial ceremony, the president of the NAR and various mourners gathered to pay tribute to the woman who had sacrificed her life to save their country and her blood. However, her blood, meaning her daughter Allura would grow up in the NAR, as she was taken by NAR operatives after her mother killed the president. Again, the cycle of life that is always present in Covington's writing shines through because Allura becomes an archeologist who finds a Solutrean site in Montana and who also becomes the "Daughter of the Nation" of the NAR and a symbol of beauty and intelligence in the fledgling nation.<sup>141</sup> Again, the point that "history does not allow for total

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<sup>141</sup> The third and fourth parts of *Freedom's Sons* concern the Solutrean hypothesis and the complete collapse of the United States respectively and revolve around Allura and her family. For more on the Solutrean hypothesis in white nationalist fiction, see J. Eric Starnes, "The Riddle of Thule: In Search of the Crypto-History of a Racially Pure White Utopia," in Alicja Bemben, Rafał Boryśławski, Justyna Jajszczok and Jakub Gajda, editors, *Cryptohistories* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 127-142. For the archeological basis for the Solutrean hypothesis, see Bruce A. Bradley and Dennis J. Stanford, *Across Atlantic Ice: The Origin of America's Clovis Culture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012). For the controversy on the first humans to settle North America, see Roger Downey, *Riddle of the Bones: Politics, Science, Race, and the Story of Kennewick Man* (New York: Copernicus Springer-Verlag, 2000) and Nina Jablowski, *The First Americans: The Pleistocene*

annihilation” to use Schivelbusch’s nomenclature is reinforced by a trope within a white nationalist novel.

### 4.1.3 Revolution

The term “revolution” in white nationalist novels has two meanings; the first is the most obvious, a political overturning of the present order, which is replaced by a white nationalist political and societal order, and the revolution of the white spirit, which was examined in the first subchapter. This subchapter, however, examines the political revolution that is envisioned by the various authors of white nationalist fiction. This revolution is the logical outcome of the ideology of the ‘defeated culture,’ because white nationalist/white separatist ideology envisions a particular view of history in which to put it in laymen’s terms: ‘What goes around, comes around,’ this being a simpler way of saying that history is cyclical, as opposed to the Western liberal concept of history being linear and man progressing to ever higher heights of ‘humanity,’ technological achievement, and artistic prowess.<sup>142</sup> In this sense, a political revolution mirrors Wolfgang Schivelbusch’s theories that were examined in Chapter Two, specifically, subchapter 2.1 regarding the lack of the complete annihilation of an idea or nation.

Depending on the author, the revolution could come from a variety of factors, but in most novels, there is a small cadre of hard-core ‘revolutionary soldiers’ who are fanatically dedicated to the revolution, ignoring all other considerations. This aspect has its roots in the ‘Redeemer/Klan Apologia’ novels of the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Thomas Dixon’s ‘Reconstruction’ trilogy and the two reconstruction novels by Thomas Nelson Page *Red Rock* and *Red Riders* being the most prominent, though N. J. Floyd’s *Thorns in the Flesh* and Jerome Thomas’ *Ku Klux Klan No. 40: A Novel* also feature this theme. Since the Reconstruction-era KKK is the basis for most white revolutionary movements, it should not be surprising that many

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*Colonization of the New World* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002).

<sup>142</sup> This particular concept is more akin to Eastern philosophy and the idea of reincarnation. However, and more importantly, it is not related to the Nietzschean concept of eternal return. In Nietzsche’s formulation, eternal return is that the individual wills itself to return and live its life over and over again, with everything experienced by that individual being repeated, from life to death, with nothing changing. In the white nationalist context, the idea of revenge is most evident with no repetition of events, meaning that what “unnatural” ideologies are imposed on the overall white population will eventually lead to a revolt.

white revolutionary authors, or those authors that write about white revolution, should choose to feature their revolutionary organizations based on the hierarchy and organization of the first incarnation of the Klan.<sup>143</sup>

In contemporary novels, meaning those published after *The Turner Diaries*, particularly in the first two decades of the 2000s, the revolutionary groups, while attached to a larger organization, are normally based on the idea of individual cells that work towards a common goal. For the purposes of this subchapter, several novels will be examined: the aforementioned H. A. Covington novels *A Mighty Fortress* and *Freedom's Sons*, Gregory Kay's first novel of his neo-Confederate saga *The Third Revolution*, and Lloyd Lennard's *The Last Confederate Flag*, also a neo-Confederate novel. It must be remembered that these novels only provide examples of the various types of revolutionary organizations and the reasons that a character comes to join a white revolutionary organization.

Lloyd Lennard's 2001 novel, *The Last Confederate Flag* is one of the most poignant novels under examination. The novel examines the controversy over the flying of the Confederate Battle Flag (also known as the Rebel flag, the Southern Cross, or the Confederate Naval ensign) at the Robert E. Lee statue in the fictional Georgia town of Forest. The town is inundated with "black activists" who are supported by some local black activists who are charging the town council, the police chief and, it seems, every white face in sight with racism. Supported by outsiders, the black activists in the novel are led by the Black Muslims and their leader, Abdul Karim, is shown in stark contrast to the hero of the novel, Stonewall Bedford, a white World War II veteran, native of the area and a member of the town council. The novel shows some very astute observations as to the differences in thought between neo-Confederates and associated fellow travelers and their opponents regarding history and its place in society, the meaning of freedom and liberty and the choices one makes regarding who or what to believe in. Finally, the novel begins and ends with a poignant reminder that, as stated by Irish revolutionary and poet Padraic Pearse (Patrick Pearce), "There is only one way to appease a ghost. You must

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<sup>143</sup> For more on the Reconstruction-era Klan, see Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction*, paperback edition, (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University, 1995) and James Van Eldik, *From the Flame of Battle to the Fiery Cross: 3<sup>rd</sup> Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment* (Las Cruces, NM: Yucca Tree Press, 2001). Most of the founding members of the Reconstruction Klan served, at one time or another, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Tennessee Vol. Inf. Regt. and it was the regimental organization of this unit that formed the basis for the Klan. It is astounding that few researchers have commented on the fact that the majority of the Reconstruction Klan was composed of former Confederates, who were, for the most part, 'up n' comers' in their communities and were the most educated men in a given community, hence forming the basis of the myth in the South that the Reconstruction Klan kept law and order in their communities.

do the thing it asks you. The ghosts of a nation sometimes ask very big things; and they must be appeased, whatever the cost” (Kay 2004, v).

While the story revolves around the differences between the two sides, the most interesting and telling parts involve the debate between the two sides and how the supporters of the flag and monument view those symbols of an enduring South. One of the flag supporters, a member of the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) reads out a portion of an essay written by Judge Ben Smith Jr. as written in the *Confederate Veteran* magazine and succinctly points to the heart of the matter as concerns certain symbols of not only Southern but white pride. Hence it is quoted at length:

All over the Southland we are plagued with an epidemic of do-gooder educators and mindless politicians hell-bent on obliterating all reminders of the Southern Confederacy. It is said that they do not wish to offend minority groups and members of the new enlightenment. Ancient symbols and time-honored traditions will be swept away as worthless encumbrances to the new breed of Southerner. Our children are taught to despise these totems of a once proud people. The new-style censorship is considered to be a splendid and humanitarian thing, a giant step on the way to the true brotherhood of man [...].

What arrant nonsense. It never occurs to these manipulators that catering to any kind of pressure to invoke the banning of symbols and displays of regional heritage is itself a contemptible form of intolerance. It cannot be a greater sin to offend other citizens who want to enjoy the privilege of free expression under the First Amendment of our Constitution [...]

The political avant-garde of today are the most intolerant breed to appear in modern America. These mischievous people are after votes and care little for constitutional principles. They are the worthy successors of the radical Republicans of another time (those who swarmed Southward during the reconstruction period to plunder, steal and occupy the seats of power). They have done more to polarize the races in the South than they have done to establish the good feeling that ought to exist between them.

If I am offended by someone who is expressing his ideas and not disobeying the law, that is just too bad, for both black and white, yellow and red, have every right to celebrate their heritage. [...] It is irrelevant that someone is offended by this lawful behavior. This is the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave or so it used to be (Lennard 2000, 196-198).

In four paragraphs, four distinct ideas are presented that illustrate the differences and lack of compromise between the two forces that fight over the Confederate flag and associated symbols of not only the South, but indeed, any display of white pride. First, the idea that “do-gooder” educators are changing the South for the worst is a complaint that was heard during the first Reconstruction period when Northern (mostly young white female) teachers came South working for the Freedman’s Bureau and would educate white and black together, thus trying to break down racial barriers that had existed for hundreds of years. Second, the shift in culture that has occurred where once venerated symbols, i.e. the Confederate flag are now despised and vilified by children, again, signaling a move not only in the contemporary ethos but in the future culture as well. Third, the painting of the opposition as not following the Constitution is a particular sore point with neo-Confederates, though Lennard’s novel is less revolutionary than

Kay's novels, the examination of which is forthcoming in this subchapter. Finally, the last two paragraphs hit upon the idea that the South has been involved in a culture war since before the Civil War but in particular during the period of Reconstruction.

For Stonewall Bedford's part, the moment of truth came when he was attacked by three carloads of American Black Muslims armed with AK-47s. While defending his home from the attackers, his son and wife are both murdered by the assailants and several of the invaders die as well. He is brought before a judge with "a huge proboscis," a normal reference to a person of Jewish heritage, and is charged with first degree homicide (murder with aforethought). He is convicted of first degree murder of three armed foes, regardless of his defending his home from being invaded. While in prison, on the last page of the novel, he reflects on the possibility of what might have been if the Confederacy would have won at Gettysburg:

I still hear the faint calls of the bugles at Gettysburg; still hear the distant sounds of the roll of the drums, see and feel the explosions of the bursting shells. I'm charging up Cemetery Ridge with the long lines of valiant men in gray, as my Confederate comrades scream, die, and reluctantly fall back. For a moment that day, we reached the high ground. If only we could have held it... if only we had won [...] if only [...] (Lennard 2000, 432).

This feeling of loss at a future that 'could have been' has been expressed by various white Southern authors, the most poignant of which was William Faulkner in his novel *Intruder in the Dust*:

For every Southern boy fourteen years old, not once but whenever he wants it, there is the instant when it's still not yet two o'clock on that July afternoon in 1863, the brigades are in position behind the rail fence, the guns are laid and ready in the woods and the furled flags are already loosened to break out and Pickett himself with his long oiled ringlets and his hat in one hand probably and his sword in the other looking up the hill waiting for Longstreet to give the word and it's all in the balance, it hasn't happened yet, it hasn't even begun yet, it not only hasn't begun yet but there is still time for it not to begin[...] Maybe this time with all this much to lose and all this much to gain: Pennsylvania, Maryland, the world, the golden dome of Washington itself to crown with desperate and unbelievable victory the desperate gamble, the cast made two years ago [...] (Faulkner 1960 [1949], 125–126).

While this expression of grief and longing might seem jingoistic to some, it is important to remember that within the milieu of American white nationalism and the theory of the defeated culture, these expressions of what might have been are important in that they act as a revitalizing force, one that inevitably leads to revolution.

In Gregory Kay's neo-Confederate *Third Revolution* cycle, the revolution begins with a riot over the removal of the Confederate flag on the South Carolina State House grounds where it had flown in front of the Confederate soldier monument. The hero of the cycle, a white Columbia police officer, Frank Gore starts out the novel as a proud, native South Carolinian with

a major Southern pedigree. After he is injured during the riot that followed, in which white supporters of the flag were shot and killed by a black police officer, Gore is taken to the hospital and while there, his grandmother, who had raised him urged him to “tell the truth about what he saw,” as the mass media was trying to spin the riot into a “white supremacist conspiracy.” She gives him her locket, which she never took off and urges him to look inside:

Gingerly, he undid the tiny latch and was confronted with a picture of his grandfather in a dress blue Marine uniform on one side, and a small piece of dirty, disreputable-looking red cloth on the other [...].

“What else do you see?”

Frank looked carefully, turning the locket over in his hands, but could see nothing else. “All I see is this cloth trim.”

“That’s not trim. That’s a piece of the company Battle Flag that my own grandfather died carrying at Shiloh, fighting the Yankee invaders. Those stains? That’s his blood, Frankie; his blood, my blood, and *your* blood.

Frank was numb. As he held the object, he could feel a strange warmth coursing through his body and it felt like unseen eyes were upon him.

“This is my heritage [...].”

Granny shook her head. “No Frankie, *this* is your heritage,” she said, tapping his chest gently over his heart with a bony fingertip. “It’s in here, in the heart and in the blood. Bred in the bone, like the old folks used to say. *This*,” pointing to the locket, “is just a symbol of it, a reminder, so that we never forget who we are!” (Kay 2004, 21).

While this quote reinforces the idea of blood memory in subchapter 4.1, it also starts Frank Gore onto the road of revolution. As Gore tries to tell the truth about what happened at the riot, he is put on paid leave, threatened with jail and eventually, framed for the murders of several people that he did not commit. He eventually joins white journalist Samantha Norris, who is pursuing the truth herself, after her Jewish station owner assaults her in the parking lot of her employer, a television station. After fleeing to the Confederate Army Provisional (CAP), Gore and Norris join the Southern revolutionaries and when Norris is captured after trying to flee the Federal paramilitary forces sent to apprehend them (mentioned on page 158 of the present work) , she is physically, psychologically, and sexually tortured. After being rescued by the Southern revolutionaries, they recruit several high school journalists to produce a video in which she recounts her ordeal, with Frank Gore concluding:

We are called terrorists because we have fought against the armed forces who have sought to kill us, while those same forces slaughtered civilians who dared demand their rights, and murdered helpless old ladies, like my grandmother, Sarah Gore, and my friend, Mary Wheeler, for no other reason than that they knew too much. Those forces,” he snarled, “those forces beat my wife [Samantha Norris Gore], tied her to a table, and forced electrical probes into her private parts until they very nearly killed her!” [...]

“Until then, like most of you, we had no cause; we fled to the Confederate Army Provisional simply in order to stay alive. It was only after we saw what the Federal Government and its shameless lackeys here in the local administration were capable of doing that we became true believers. Due to their un-Godly persecution, we became revolutionaries, not because we lack patriotism, but because *we are* patriots. No patriot will allow tyrants and despots to hold sway over their country, for any reason. This

South of ours, this beautiful Dixie Land, has been trodden under the heel of the tyrants in Washington for a century and a half, and that heavy tread has beaten down the Southern man until it's made us think that's the way it should be" (Kay 2004, 401-402).

Not only does the above quote repeat various neo-Confederate accusations against the Federal government, namely destroying white Southern culture through forced integration, forced "levelling" of educational opportunities (Affirmative Action), and the denigration of Southern speech patterns and culture, it also shows how one becomes a revolutionary—the threat of death at the hands of an omnipresent Federal government forces one to fight. In the end, Frank Gore becomes the commander of all the neo-Confederate partisans and eventually succeeds in removing the federal government from all former Confederate territories and reestablishing the Confederate States of America. His journey from policeman to partisan to eventual President of the newly reformed Confederate States of America, and the ethnic cleansing of all non-whites from the territory claimed by the CSA covers much the same ground as the other novels examined in this chapter. However, what makes Frank Gore and his journey unique is that he did not start out as a revolutionary but one who believed in the system, which brings this chapter back full circle to redemption and blood memory, since Kay's new CSA and Covington's NAR are both based on the idea of race above all else, thus fulfilling what the authors' theoretical models, the original United States (meaning the country before 1861) with Covington, and the CSA (the nation from 1861-1865) with Kay, were supposed to be and what the destiny of the United States, according to white nationalist is supposed to fulfill—a racially pure white nation 'made by and for the white race.' This idea of the United States as a 'city upon the hill,' a beacon of freedom in a world filled with dictatorship and repression can only be realized, in the white nationalist framework, when all races are separated and the 'great melting pot' of races is completely broken and each race can fulfill its destiny separately.

The only way that separation can come is through revolution, as expressed in Covington's *Northwest Novels* in which revolution comes to the Pacific Northwest in the form of the NVA (Northwest Volunteer Army), an IRA-style white separatist organization dedicated to breaking off the Pacific Northwest from the United States and expelling 'ZOG'/The 'Beast' from the area they have claimed for their racial homeland. The third novel of the series examines the Longview Conference, the conference that led to the Longview Treaty which led to the establishment of the Northwest American Republic, the foundation and first fifty years of which are examined in the aforementioned last novel, 2013's *Freedom's Sons*.

Cody Brock is the main character of *A Mighty Fortress*, supported by many other characters, such as Emily Pastras, an NVA ‘gun bunny,’ and General Frank Barrow, Cody’s brigade commander. At the press briefing that kicks off the Longview Conference, Barrow addresses the assembled U. S. delegates and news reporters. His words are telling in that they describe the philosophy of revolution and the role it has played in American white nationalist thinking. His speech is quoted at length:

We began this rebellion to be free of you, free of your government, free of your capitalism, free of your filth and your sexual perversions, free of your Jews, free of your soulless greed, free of everything that you are. We do not want to be you any more [sic]. We do not want to be Americans any more. Manifest destiny [sic!] might have been a good idea once, when that destiny was in control of the white men who made this continent. But it’s no longer valid. America was once the shining city on the hill, but you people have turned it into the world’s largest experiment in landfill. Well, that’s over now[...] If you want to put this Biblically, long ago you stole from us the birthright of our race, and in return all we got was a mess of pottage called democracy, and Ronald McDonald. It is pointless to try and threaten us. The greatest glory of the past five years [of the rebellion] is that *we are no longer afraid of you*, because we have now seen that American bureaucrats and American cops and American assholes bleed just like everybody else (Covington 2005, 291-293).

In essence, the above speech exemplifies much of Covington’s fiction, and by extension, all of white nationalist fiction—revolution is inevitable when whites realize that the police, “the men in the black body armor” and the various secret police agencies are men and women who bleed just like other humans and once whites find their “ancient courage,” the call of the blood, i.e. their blood memory; when that occurs, the rebellion is inescapable.

When Cody Brock was asked how old he was by a reporter during the news conference, his response exemplifies the point behind revolution—namely, war is when someone else tells you who your enemy is, revolution is when you decide who your enemy is:

“I just recently turned eighteen, which makes me old enough to be drafted into the United States Army and be sent overseas to fight and kill people who have never done me any harm, by the way, so I can’t really see what the issue is with our ages. America thinks we’re old enough to bleed and old enough to butcher for them. The way I see it, if the state considers itself qualified to decide for me who I am to risk my life and limb for, I’m old enough to decide for myself. Comrade Pastras [Emily—aged 17] and I have simply decided to stay here in our own land and fight against people who *have* done us wrong.”

“Yeah? What wrong did America ever do to you, boy?” jeered the nationally known anchorman of a network true crime show.

“Well, to begin with, America destroyed my family,” replied Cody calmly. “America sent my father to prison for the so-called crime of defending himself against an anthropoid who should not have been anywhere on this continent to begin with. What kind of state unleashes hordes of wild animals on the nation, and then punishes people for protecting themselves, or for so much as daring to say out loud that these are wild animals and unfit for human society? America abducted my sister and sold her into a form of slavery. I have no idea where she is today. America sold me to a family of vicious Jewish perverts who made what was political left of my childhood an endless nightmare from which I could never awake until I finally struck back, and at long last made one of those people pay for their vileness, as I will someday make all of them pay. But I like to think that even had I not personally been victimized by America, I would still



have had the perception to understand its evil and the courage to take up arms against it. I hope so, anyway (Covington 2005, 293-294).

In the novel, Cody's father was a lumberjack in Oregon who had hit a black man at a bar for trying to steal from him. Cody's father was charged with a 'hate crime' and sent to prison because the man he hit was black. Since Cody's mother had died years earlier, he and his sister were taken by CPS and "It Takes A Village"—in the novel, the mythical service that takes children away from 'racist' homes. Cody's sister was sold to a family in Florida and he was sold to Larry Saperstein, a Jewish lawyer in San Francisco. Saperstein tried to inculcate Cody with all the Jewish teachings from the Talmud, etc. and when Cody had enough, he stabbed Saperstein with a knife and fled back to the Pacific Northwest, living as a street kid on the "mean streets" of Seattle for a while before being recruited into the NVA. Again, the quotes above mirror many of the same themes that inform recent American white nationalist fiction—namely, blacks and other minorities have no place in white societies, revolution is the 'natural' course when whites remember their blood. Further, taking into account Gen. Barrow's speech, that capitalism "is not natural" for white societies, which reinforces Cody's point, that when a white comes to the realization—an *anagorsis*—he/she will struggle to break away from society then will fight to free other whites from current American society.

In Covington's most recent novel, the aforementioned *Freedom's Sons*, parts three and four examine the Solutrean hypothesis and paint a "Romeo and Juliet" love story against the backdrop of American collapse, respectively. It is part four that will be examined as the last example of revolution. Part four revolves around a cross-border love story in Montana. According to the terms of the treaty signed at the Longview Conference, the western third of Montana was absorbed into the NAR (Northwest American Republic) with the rest of the state still a part of the United States. Danielle Tolliver, a resident of the American Boulder, Montana has fallen in love with Johnny Selkirk, a smuggler from the NAR and their love story provides a canvas by which Covington paints the reconciliation of the white race, in the sense, reversing the Reunion Romances of the post-Civil War period, in which the South offered up her native daughters for marriage to the victorious Union, thus paving the way for a reconciliation of North and South.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> See Nina N. Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

Covington sketches a portrait of the United States as teetering on the edge of collapse because of the masses of black and brown denizens of the cities who threaten to break out and destroy the rest of the country. As explained by Robert Campbell, aka Big Bob, an NAR policeman and head of the NAR's Border District police force:

What you have to bear in mind, Bobby [his son], was that just as it always has been on this continent since 1492, *race* was the primary issue. The essential question of *whose land this is* was never settled, or even honestly discussed, by the old order. Under ONI [One Nation Indivisible—the political grouping of Republicans and Democrats after the NAR was established] most American cities became almost totally non-white and completely custodial. There is no industry, no commerce except the local Korean market, and nothing in the cities except feral niggers and beaners and wogs hanging around waiting to be fed, clothed, housed and entertained by the white man. For generations now, the black and brown inhabitants of the cities have been given tax money to keep them doped up, stop them from rioting, and get them to keep their violence and their squalor away from the remaining white communities (Covington 2013, 758).

Since the United States is on the verge of collapse, it decides to start 'Community Prosperity Zone' near the border in Boulder, Montana. This 'CPZ' is part of the U.S.' Economic Recovery Administration. The first step of the CPZ was to send a black woman, two FBI agents and a mercenary to scout out the area, which was a clear violation of the treaty signed by the U.S. at the Longview Conference. Basically, Boulder, Montana was in a non-militarized zone, and sending FBI agents and a military contractor from the U.S. Army was a clear violation. As it turned out, the FBI agents capture Johnny Selkirk while he was talking to Danielle Tolliver in American Boulder. Selkirk's family, including his grandfather, an old NVA fighter, Ray Selkirk break Johnny free from jail based on information provided by Danielle. The problem is that Danielle's grandfather, Elwood Tolliver was an old fighter on the other side of the 'Trouble,' the revolution that established the NAR and he hates Ray Selkirk with a passion. So, Danielle Tolliver moves to the NAR, just across the border, to be protected.

While staying at the Selkirk farm just over the border from her home, she engaged Ray Selkirk in a conversation about the reason for the revolution and why he became a revolutionary:

"Did you really have to murder all those Mexican people that one time, to make the bad people stop doing what they were doing?" asked Danny quietly.

"Yes ma'am, I did," said the old man. "I suppose I could try to explain it to you, but I doubt you'd get it, because you weren't there. You've never had to live like that, a stranger and a victim in your own land where people with dark skins hunt you as prey, so you'd damned well better hunt them back, better and meaner."

"My grandfather said it wasn't necessary," Danny persisted with quiet stubbornness. "Grandpa said we should have chosen to die rather than be cruel to the dark people to survive, because we're supposed to be better than that."

"I'm sure he did, and the horrifying thing was that even in the face of extinction, there were white people who truly felt like that [...] The Jews have done a slap-up job of destroying our minds and making us hate ourselves, I'll give 'em that. [...] There are white people in what's political left of the United States today—very wealthy white people, of course— who genuinely believe that our race deserves to perish from

the earth for the crime of making this planet a place of civilization and man's creation. White people who actively work for the destruction of this country [the NAR] because we will not think and believe like them, and be like them, and accept their moral superiority and obey them. That's the true essence of liberalism, white people doing what they're told. Goodthink, as Orwell called it (Covington 2013, 871–873).

The act of rebellion that Selkirk was a part of created the Northwest American Republic, a country established for the sole use of white people. In essence, Selkirk's comments mirror Lloyd Lenard's *the Last Confederate Flag*, in that both accuse liberals of forcing multiculturalism, diversity and political correctness on people who do not want it. Indeed, in Covington's novels, political correctness and other forms of "cultural Marxism" are alien ideologies that have no place in white societies. Finally, the complaint that the politicians and 'powers that be' refuse to listen to the 'silent majority' is clearly exemplified in the quotes above. It is not just that the defeat of the Confederacy destroyed a future that might have been but that the present system is presided over by an 'alien' species (Jews) and that the enforcement of various ideologies of this 'alien' species is destroying the white race, not only on the American continent but worldwide.

#### **4.1.4 Recapturing the Feeling of Victory: A Recapitulation of the Case Studies**

The theories presented in Chapters Two and Three work. The defeated culture of white nationalism, at least as reflected in the novels, has gone through and is still experiencing the stages of defeat that have been outlined by Schivelbusch and that form the basis of the theory presented in Chapter Two. By examining the three major motifs outlined in this chapter, blood memory, redemption and revolution—the theory of defeated culture outlined in Chapter Three appears to have been confirmed. The novels examined in this chapter, while only a sampling of the range of American white nationalist novels, are typical of the genre as a whole. Overall, the novels present a Romantic vision of the white race, as reflected in the subjects of blood memory and redemption, with revolution, both of the white spirit, society and political system being the logical outcome of these concepts, at least according to the authors of the novels.

The act of mourning the defeat of the CSA, the defeat of the Third Reich (to a lesser extent, though in the novels written by H.A. Covington, this defeat looms larger than in others), the defeat of the culture of segregation with the Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board* in 1954,

and the current victory of diversity and political correctness in the culture of the United States all play a large part in the novels, though certain events play larger roles than others.

The psychological needs and roles that the novels fulfill within the white nationalist community are manifold. Primarily, the novels serve, to echo the words of Fred Hobson, as a means of wish fulfillment or fantasizing, projecting a literary power that is impotent in the real world, at least at present. Furthermore, the novels act as a template to show how a white nationalist uprising could occur and, in a few of the sagas, what society would arise out of the revolution, giving the authors and the readers a sense of hope in a brighter, ‘whiter’ future. Thirdly, the novels act as a de-shaming instrument by showing that, at least fictionally, some white men and women are not “dogs” to echo Zack Hatfield’s nomenclature that headed this chapter. This particular mechanism is of overriding importance, as it is the means by which inspiration to “do something” about the perceived state of whites in America—this being exemplified by the actions of the Order and the Oklahoma City bombers, who were inspired by *The Turner Diaries*, as indicated previously. These ideas need to be kept in mind as the summary of the findings proceeds.

## **4.2 Contextualizing the Analytical Findings in Light of ‘Literary Psychohistory’**

This section summarizes the overall findings of the previous chapter. While the conclusions of this chapter are drawn on the basis of the analysis of selected white nationalist novels in the previous chapter, some new information will be added to sketch a clearer picture of the culture of defeat and the mourning that current American white nationalism and, it seems, the overall white ‘working class’ culture is suffering from. While the idea that a culture can suffer a defeat and go through various stages of mourning might be new to the reader, it must be remembered that Schivelbusch applied his theory to defeated nations, whereas this work takes the approach that cultures and, by extension, political ideologies and the subcultures that follow those political ideologies experience a defeat in much the same way.

There can be little doubt that the overall American working-class white populace is going through some form of cultural flux, as shown by massive amounts of drug use among lower-class whites, the various forms of ‘escapism’ that seem to pervade current white youth culture, the support of political maverick Donald Trump against the elites of both established political

parties, and the various books written by scholars on the problems of the still ‘white’ majority.<sup>145</sup> Indeed, it might be argued that the Brexit movement in Great Britain, along with the formation of the anti-Muslim immigrant Sons of Odin groups in most countries in Western and Central Europe, both of which might be viewed as symptoms of cultural anxiety trepidation about the loss of traditional culture, as well as a symptom of white working-class revolt against the cultural and political elites who have lead their countries down the path of ‘multiculturalism’ and ‘diversity’ without consulting their populations as to whether they want their respective countries to be ‘diverse’ and/or ‘multicultural.’

To return to the American context, while various pundits have come across as trying to explain Trump’s popularity among working-class whites and his massive support amongst whites in general, it is Covington who succinctly points out the main reason for the popularity of Trump:

Trump himself is a problematic individual, no question. But he needs to be viewed not as a man but as an inevitable historical phenomenon, someone who had to happen, and in that department, there is a chance he may actually accomplish something serious in the form of a kind of racial turning point for this continent, even if it’s an unintended consequence and even if I sure wish there was a bit more Huey Long and a bit less P. T. Barnum here.

If you actually look at what he’s saying, politically speaking Trump’s campaign is 100 percent content-free, but no one minds because on every other level that counts, the emotional and spiritual level, he is telling White people what they want to hear, saying out loud what they themselves don’t dare to say. The very fact that Trump is so bitterly opposed by not just the Democrats but the RINOs, the Republican oligarchs, and the media etcetera works in his favor.

In short, the people who hate Trump are the same people who have fucked up this country for the past 50 years and everybody knows it, and they figure anybody this establishment despises like that can’t be all bad. And they’re right. Anyone who is this badly hated by the existing power structure is somebody worth looking at, [...] (Covington 2016, 2, 5).

While Covington writes with a modicum of vulgarity in the last paragraph, he does seem to have a better grasp of the undercurrents present in ‘White’ society than nearly all other commentators who seem to be skirting the fact that Trump’s core supporters range from upper to lower class whites—the “silent majority,” those that may have supported the Republicans in the past, but also many conservative Democrats, plus many who were/are a part of the Tea Party movement on the fringes of the Republican party. The problem with Trump seems to have been that he was a ‘racial’ candidate, meaning most, if not all of his support came from only one racial section—whites, the traditional powerbase for most populist politicians, from Tom Watson to Huey Long

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<sup>145</sup> For more on the ‘silent majority,’ see Charles H. Murray, *Coming Apart: White America, 1965-2013* (New York: The Free Press, 2015), *Methland: The Death and Life of an American Small Town* by Nick Ridding (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014) which chronicles the plague of cheap meth that hit the town of Oelwein, Iowa, and *Hillbilly Elegy: A Memoir of a Family and a Culture in Crisis* by J. D. Vance (New York: Harper Collins, 2016).

to Ross Perot. As with many aspects that have so far been explored, it is the appearance, more than substance that is most important. For many whites, it seems, Trump speaks for the ‘little guy,’ even though Trump’s antics and inflammatory speech may bring the wrath of the media and political left-wing down upon him. What many do not understand is that, as Covington points out, Trump is saying what many, at least conservative whites, feel in their hearts but will not say out loud. Indeed, the repression of speech that has been imposed on the American populace because of the victory of “cultural Marxism,” also known as political correctness, with its favorite buzzwords multiculturalism and diversity, has to be expressed somewhere because repression of speech only brings about a boiling over of emotions, as witnessed by Trump’s phenomenal rise to the frontrunner position of the Republican party. To many whites, Trump not only supports their rights—such as the right to own a gun, the right to have secure borders, etc. but he also harkens back to a time that reinforces their sense of themselves as valuable to the society, after the past two decades of white male bashing that has occurred in American society, specifically in the bastions of what many whites see as liberalism and anti-Americanism—the universities.<sup>146</sup>

The idea of cultural trauma being mirrored in the novels of the white racist right is not so unusual when one takes into account the idea that the white racist right has felt persecuted since the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision in 1954 which desegregated the schools, an event which could rightly be called the start of the Civil Rights movement and the end of white supremacy in the United States. It is within this context that the culture of defeat takes on its true meaning and it is this idea that will be expanded upon and examined within this section, along with the summary of the findings of this chapter.

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<sup>146</sup> For more information on the problems associated with the triumph of political correctness at American universities, see David Horowitz, *Indoctrination U.: The Political left's War on Academic Freedom* (New York: Encounter Books, 2007), *Tenured Radicals: How Politics Has Corrupted Our Higher Education* by Roger Kimball (New York: Harper Collins, 1991) and Ben Shapiro, *Brainwashed: How Universities Indoctrinate America's Youth* (New York: Thomas Nelson, 2004). Furthermore, it seems that the idea that a ‘revolution eats its own’ was seen in May and June 2016 with attacks on feminist Susanna Hoff Summers and Milo Yiannopoulos, both Jewish and both extremely vociferous critics of current 3<sup>rd</sup> wave feminism. Sommers is a 2<sup>nd</sup> wave feminist and Yiannopoulos is a conservative, anti-feminist homosexual famously known as a supporter of Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump. In particular, Sommers’ and Yiannopoulos’ appearances at various American universities have sparked protests, and threats of violence, specifically at Dartmouth and the University of Chicago, where Yiannopoulos was almost physically assaulted by Black Lives Matters activists who had interrupted his post-lecture interview. Furthermore, Yiannopoulos was prevented from speaking at University of California Berkeley in January, 2017, by anarchists and antifa members who threw explosives, broke windows and lit fires.

### 4.2.1 Contextualizing the Motifs of Blood Memory

Based on the theory proposed in Chapters Two and Three and the novels explored at the beginning of this chapter, blood memory is an integral part of the ideology of white nationalism and is the main trope through which the authors of the novels have expressed their beliefs in the differences between the races. This idea has its basis in the 19<sup>th</sup> century theory about the ‘heart’ of one’s ‘spirit’ and, from a more modern perspective, from German Ariosophists and the ways in which they felt that one’s blood contained one’s spirit, which was different from one’s soul.<sup>147</sup> Moreover, sayings such as “in the blood” or “to get something honest” reflect the idea that some features of character are inbred, white nationalists who adhere to this ideology may be seen as adhering to an outmoded ideology or belief about how humans are. Furthermore, this idea is intertwined with the other two ideologies, redemption and revolution. Combined together, these leitmotifs provide a complete ideology and new vision for American whites. Blood memory, as proposed by the authors is a part of every white person, whether they know it or not.

The interesting thing that was uncovered in Chapter Four is the fact that no scholar has attempted to connect these aspects before. In Native American and African American cultures, blood memory is an accepted part of the community’s spirit, especially among various Native American tribes, therefore, the idea that genetic memory is somehow interwoven into an individual’s being without them knowing about it and without being in touch with that memory proves lie to the idea that the races are equal. If genetic memory is only part of Native American and African American cultures, then two possibilities emerge—(a) the reason that it is present in these cultures is because of their history of being oppressed, genocide, and enslavement by whites (it must be kept in mind that whites both in North and South America enslaved the indigenous population before importing African slaves), or, which would mean that in this sense, the races are not equal because according to current politically correct ideology, only whites have been and currently are oppressors, or (b) blood memory is present in everyone, which would also give lie to the proposition that all cultures are inherently equal, as not all cultures have had the same experiences.<sup>148</sup> Indeed, it is the idea that all races have different experiences, histories, etc.,

<sup>147</sup> For more on this idea, see Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *The Occult Roots of Nazism: Secret Aryan Cults and Their Influence on Nazi Ideology* (New York: New York University Press, 1992). The idea of something being ‘in the blood’ is present in Southern American English with the terms ‘get it honest’ and ‘in my/your/his/hers blood.’ On the other hand, the terms ‘get it honest’ and ‘the apple doesn’t fall from the tree’ also represent inheriting certain characteristics from one’s parents. Helena Blavatsky, among others, have expounded on this idea as well.

<sup>148</sup> Other races have practiced slavery including, but not limited to various Asians, Africans themselves, and most importantly, Arabs. Indeed, one of America’s first ‘foreign adventures’ involved attacking the Barbary pirates, who

hence they will all have a different blood memory that buttresses the white nationalist argument that the ideology behind multiculturalism and diversity is a sham—being that this ideology is rooted in “cultural Marxism” and has very little, if anything, to do with American ‘exceptionalism,’ which formed the basis for white supremacy in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the United States which continued to bond quite nicely with American expansionism and isolationism until the advent of World War Two.

Blood memory, at its core, implies that intergenerational trauma or the spirit of the race of a person is inherited from his/her ancestors. The major issue is the cultural manifestations of that memory and how it translates into white nationalist writing. After all, it seems that the West has been suffering some sort of cultural or memory trauma from the events of the First World War, where the countries of Europe bled themselves white on the battlefields of France, Flanders and in the East. Could it not be argued that the West has experienced a form of blood memory in its aversion to appearing racist because of the events of colonialism, World War One and more specifically, World War Two? Admittedly, science has dismissed the idea of genetic memory out of hand, again, because the idea has been allied too closely with racism in the past. However, new research regarding mice and smells might lead to a rethinking of genetic or racial memory.<sup>149</sup> In Jungian psychology, racial or genetic memory is part of the collective unconscious that forms a human’s personality and, by extension, a particular society’s culture.

In the novels under examination in subchapter 4.1, the racial memory of white revolutionaries comes to the fore in situations of extreme stress, such as combat. Indeed, the racial consciousness that runs in one’s blood needs only a spark to return one to the fold of the white race. In certain terms, this theory, along with redemption flow into one another as a character becomes disenchanted, literally, with the current prevailing ideology of multiculturalism, etc. This seems to be the natural state of men, while various novelists have also portrayed women as revolutionaries; white nationalist novels continue to stress the “natural”

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preyed on American shipping, not only taking the cargo but selling the sailors into slavery. For more on the Barbary pirates, see Robert Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) and Frederick C. Leiner, *The End of Barbary Terror: America’s 1815 War against the Pirates of North Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). For more on slavery in Africa today, see CNN: ‘Slavery’s Last Stronghold: Mauritania’ at and ‘Modern Slave Trade in Africa’ at The Hope Project, [www.hopeproject.net](http://www.hopeproject.net).

<sup>149</sup> For more on so-called ‘Lamarckism,’ see Ewen Callaway, “Fearful memories haunt mouse descendants,” *Nature*.doi:10.1038/nature2013.14272. See also the Scientific American blog site: <http://blogs.scientificamerican.com/guest-blog/genetic-memory-how-we-know-things-we-never-learned1/>.



state of gender relationships, as mentioned above in the Northwest Volunteer Army's "Moral and Political Basis for Northwest Independence".

To more radical novelists, such as H.A. Covington, and Order member David Lane, there is a certain natural state that whites must exist in and if they do not exist in this natural state, psychological problems or psychosis will appear, for instance, the 'gamer' boy, the white male who refuses to take on the responsibilities of adult life and "wastes his life in his parents' basement, fleeing responsibility, until he wakes up one day and realizes that he has wasted his life" (Covington, "Dream," 18). The natural state, according to these novelists is the man as the breadwinner, and the woman as the "heart" of the home with children. For Lane's part, his novella *KD Rebel* envisions a more pagan lifestyle as the natural path for white men and women, one in which both have their place and are happy within that place. For their part, both authors reinforce 'traditional' gender relationships, which are the subject of the longest running fantasy series—John Norman's infamous *Gor* series, in which the main character is thrust upon an alien world, one in which women are slaves and men are masters. While the various white nationalist novelists analyzed do not go that far in assigning women the subordinate role, they do insist that men and women are different and that that difference goes far beyond biology, to influence their respective roles in society and within the family.

Lane's *KD Rebel* explains gender relationships in a certain way. In the novella, the 'KD' are the 'Kindred'—a white racial pagan society on the fringes of American society, located in the mountains of Colorado, and various areas scattered in the Pacific Northwest and Midwest. The novel examines the ways in which the Kindred operate and the kidnapping of three women by two KD rebels, and their adjustment to life in the Kindred. In general, Lane's novella reinforces the natural ideal of the political and social state for whites, stripped of all 'unnatural' civilizing tendencies. The conversation between young KD rebel, Eric, and his captive Dory, regarding rape is telling:

"I guess some young KD have taken their pleasure with race traitor women at times," Eric admitted. "Undoubtedly Viking raiders left few virgins behind when they raided convents filled with nuns a dozen centuries ago. Taking your pleasure with the conquered enemy's women is as old as the existence of humans. But seasoned KD who see the big picture or who are just naturally deep thinkers are not likely to take a woman's favors by force. I'm not saying it's wrong. Wotanists don't believe in the Christian 'sex is sin' insanity, so what you call rape is in effect just another act of war. But it brutalizes the men who do it, endangering their instincts to protect and provide for women in general. So under the principal of leading by example, I would never do so. Besides, taking a woman's favors by force is no challenge. Nature made us men bigger, faster and stronger so we could catch you women. But that's not an even playing field. The real challenge is in making you want to do the man/woman thing. At least, that's how I see it."

"You know something I like about you?" she asked, placing a hand over his.

"What's that?"

"I know you are telling the truth. You could have raped me instead of being so gentle. You had all the power, and I was a captive."

"That's not a snap judgment?" he kidded (Lane 2004, 77).

This short conversation, even though it is about rape reinforces pagan racial ideas regarding relationships between the sexes and illuminates white nationalist ideology regarding the 'natural,' in white nationalist ideology, relationship between men and women, which is reinforced by Covington's writings as quoted above.

In rejecting both modernist and postmodernist ideologies, the more revolutionary authors, like Covington and Lane, seem to be arguing for a return to a more natural, Nordic pagan society. To refresh the reader's memory on racial pagan ideas of blood memory, a quote from Mattias Gardell's *Gods of Blood: the Pagan Revival and White Separatism* will be reiterated:

Racist pagans tend to biologize spirituality. Somehow, gods and goddesses are encoded in the DNA of the descendants of the ancients. Blood is thought to carry memories of the ancient past, and divinities are believed to be genetically engraved upon or to reverberate from deep down within the abyss of the collective subconscious or "folk soul" of a given ethnic or racial group. [...] Mixed blood purportedly mixes up the memories of the ancient past and the engraved divinities of different heathen traditions, resulting in spiritual confusion. Accordingly, each individual needs to find *one* spiritual home (Gardell 2003, 17).

Accordingly, racist pagans like Lane, a follower of Asatru, believe that the modern society weakens the white man's natural tendencies and corrupts the white woman's character. While many social commentators have committed on the problems with falling white male sperm count and Western women's dissatisfaction with their current lives, white nationalists believe the answer to these problems can be found in a return to a more "natural" way of life, with a husband and wife and children as the basis of society.

The idea of 'unnatural' civilizing tendencies can also be seen in the post-World War One era German Freikorps, who rejected the 'civilizing' and 'decadent' tendencies of the Weimar Republic and fought for the sake of fighting—as witnessed by the embryonic SA (Stormtroopers) of the NSDAP—Nazi Party. Unlike the Reconstruction Klan, whose members were the mostly economic 'up-n-comers,' the SA were from the working class; however, the occult wing of the Nazi Party, exemplified by Heinrich Himmler's SS believed quite strongly in the idea of blood memory. The Nazis' usage of Nordic runes, which also dovetails with the white nationalist pagan

rejection of Judeo-Christianity, is also reminiscent of one of the strands of American white nationalism's ideological trends—Nazism. Since the rise of George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party, the idea that all whites are part of the same family has become more and more popular. The idea of blood memory is only one part of that ideology. Furthermore, once a white person regains knowledge of their ancient heritage, they will come to realize, so the theory goes, that the current civilization that has been promoted since World War Two, that of materialism, consumerism, “cultural Marxism,” etc. has been an ‘unnatural’ ideology that has caused the white race, a white’s family untold damage. Once the person sees the light or remembers his/her racial spirit—redemption follows.

#### 4.2.2 Contextualizing the Motifs of Redemption

In the novels, redemption signifies a character’s remembering of his/hers’ ancient courage and disillusionment with current American cultural and societal values leading to their personal revolution against society and their joining the white revolutionaries. The character’s rejection of progressive ideology which is followed by various types of sacrifices—normally ending in a character’s demise but by sacrificing him/herself, the character guarantees the survival of the white race, reinforcing the idea of Schivelbusch’s from the second chapter that there can never be a true elimination, as every end starts a new beginning.

The process of *anagorsis*—a cosmic revelation of the nature of the universe and one’s racial blood memory leads to a rejection of both capitalism and communism and a realization that something must be done to change the situation. In the novels, it is apparent that the main characters are either hit by a cosmic flash of revelation/epiphany or come to the realization over the course of the novels, especially after trying to live within the system. While many characters experience *anagorsis*, many experience this right before they sacrifice themselves for the survival of their race, like Jeff Huxton in Ward Kendall’s *Hold Back This Day*, Felix Hyde in Richard Twiford’s *Sown in the Darkness, A.D. 2000* and Georgia Myers in the second part of H. A. Covington’s *Freedom’s Sons*.

Furthermore, and dovetailing with the trope of racial memory, there is always hope that a white person will become ‘disenchanted’ with the twin ideologies of capitalism and communism (also known as materialism/ consumerism and nannyism in some novels) and find their way back into the family of the white race. In many types of American novels, redemption can signify a character’s return to morality and humanity; however, in white nationalist novels, redemption indicates a character’s return to the white family and the realization of their own heritage and acting on that heritage, thereby recovering their ancient birthright. Indeed, it is the history mindset that is very important within the theme of redemption that sets apart the white nationalist trope of redemption from the ‘mainstream’ novels.

Like many motifs within white nationalist novels, the Redeemer novels were the first to introduce the particular way that redemption functions in texts. The Redeemer novels were written by white Southerners after Reconstruction to vindicate the Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan, on the one hand, and to advance the ideology of the Lost Cause on the other. While that discourse functioned until the 1920s, changing demographics and reader tastes brought the Redeemer novels to an end in the mid-1920s. However, redemption in the white nationalist sense was revived by the character of Felix Hyde, who was one of the first characters to convert to white nationalism and sacrifice his life to advance the cause of white nationalism and, in essence, save the white race in America in white nationalist American literature.

Finally, redemption is the overcoming of the social programming, i.e. literally the disenchantment with the prevailing cultural and social norms and the rejection of said norms in favor of a return to more ‘ancient’ ways of viewing the world. This aspect cannot be overstated as it is the first step to a character becoming a revolutionary.

#### **4.2.3 Contextualizing the Motifs of Revolution**

Once enough whites have gone through the process of recovering their blood memory and redemption—revolution is sure to follow. Actually, in white nationalist fiction, as seen by some of the characters earlier in this chapter, redemption is the process by which a character and/or characters go from ordinary to revolutionary, as seen by the transformations of Frank Gore in Gregory Kay’s *The Third Revolution*, Cody Brock in Covington’s *A Mighty Fortress*, and Georgia Myers in *Freedom’s Sons*, among others. Once the redemption of the racial spirit occurs, then the rebellion against the current popular cultural, political and social ideologies occurs.

Before any political revolution can come; however, enough whites must go through the above process, as it appears that this stage is the last stage. It is interesting that white nationalism and similar ideologies have been amazingly consistent in their message throughout their history. Writing in 1836, James Kirke Paulding, a Northern anti-abolitionist wrote that:

It cannot have escaped the notice of our countrymen, who mingle in the society of foreigners, that the most devoted adherents of aristocracy, those who deride the miseries of the people of Ireland, and oppose with obstinate pertinacity the progress of free principles throughout the world, are the most tender in their sympathies in behalf of the negro slaves of the United States, the most loud in their declamations on the subject. There is not a despotic monarch in Europe who does not mourn over the wrongs of Africa; and even the Emperor Nicholas himself, it is said, expresses a strong sympathy in favour of universal emancipation, with the exception of all white men. In fact, it cannot be denied that the enemies of liberty in Europe are the great and leading advocates of the natives of Africa. They seem to be playing on the credulity of the world, by affecting a marvelous regard to the rights of one colour, while resolutely withholding their rights from another; and apparently strive to make some amends for their oppression at home, by crusading in behalf of human rights in the distant regions of the world; thus gaining the credit of humanity without any sacrifice of interest [...] (qtd. in Davis 1971, 136).

Basically, Paulding is reinforcing, albeit almost 200 years earlier, one of the main white nationalist tenets, that the cultural elites are hypocrites, who are more concerned with their image than with any higher ideal of “a brotherhood of man.” In mentioning Czar Nicholas, Paulding is alluding to the Russian emperor’s stifling of the November Insurrection and subsequent Russo-Polish War of 1830-1831, which saw the complete destruction of Congress Poland and its absorption into the Russian Empire. In essence, Paulding seems to be foreshadowing George Orwell’s ideas from *Animal Farm*, in that while ‘all animals are equal, some are more equal than others.’ Moreover, it is striking how the above quote echoes some of the writings of current American white nationalists as regards their perceived enemies—the progressive Political left, which it seems is controlled by various people who care about everyone except poor whites, which reverberates in the writings of the aforementioned Jim Goad and Greg Gutfeld regarding the current cultural and political ‘elites’ in the United States. To restate Goad,

The ‘neck haters’ habitually argue that rednecks are merely disgruntled reactionaries fearful about losing their power at the hands of noble, triumphant, liberally uplifted Third World peasants. I arise from the murk like the Loch Ness Monster and snap back angrily that rednecks never—neither here nor in Europe—had anything that may properly be called a grip on power[...]Power to distill whiskey, yes; power to declare it illegal, no[...]. For they *know* the white boy hegira has been one huge, monolithic coconut popsicle of skin privilege, and that any white guys who don’t make it in this country must have been stupid. When they talk about “equality,” it’s phrased strictly in racial and gender terms, as if white males ever had true equality among themselves, as if the white-male experience in America has been one uninterrupted vanilla holiday (Goad 1998, 39-40).

In essence, Goad seems to be quite cognizant of the elites ideology, there does seem to be an undercurrent of fear among the power elites at the success that Donald Trump had among poor to

middle-class whites, people that the mainstream media in the United States derides as ‘rednecks’ and ‘hicks.’ The problem is that this is the same class of people who own the majority of the privately legally-held firearms in the United States. Could a revolution of a sort be on the horizon? It may not be the type of revolution that white nationalists have been fantasizing about in their fiction, but there does seem to be something stirring beneath the “muck” that Goad mentions in the above quote.

Whereas the United States was founded through revolution and Americans, throughout their history have had a distinct disdain for anyone who tries to tell them what to think, how to act or how to behave, the current rise of white nationalism has taken to protecting Confederate monuments as part of their “cultural heritage.” While part of an overall movement to combat what they see as an attempt to erase the Confederacy, as exemplified by the quotes featured in the Introduction by William Hamilton, Walter Kennedy, Rev. Bob Slimp, and Kirk Lyons, this revolt against prevailing social and cultural norms also resulted in the successful candidacy of Donald Trump. Regarding the novels, however, there is a deeper process occurring. The belief in “what goes around comes around” or a circular belief in history will bring the United States, at some point in the future, to a revolution that will overturn the old system and replace it with something else. This point is further grounded in the findings of Scheff in *Bloody Revenge*:

Superpatriotism and other forms of blind loyalty idealize engulfment. In this form of alienation, the social bond is insecure because the individual has given up significant parts of the self in order to remain loyal to the group. A secure bond requires striking a balance between loyalty to the group and loyalty to the self, between interdependence and independence (Scheff 1994, 58).

And further, “Shame is widely recognized as a cause of conflict in only one are: conflict and war among traditional peoples” (Scheff 1994, 64). Therefore, unlike the theories proposed in this work, many modern scholars have refused to acknowledge that modern humans and the groups formed by them can act according to the shame-humiliation-rage cycle. However, revenge and the hope of revenge can drive groups to become involved in conflict with other groups, as exemplified by the successful use of revenge rhetoric by the Nazis. This idea is further exemplified by the white nationalist novel. Vengeance or the desire for revenge is a compelling emotion that drives the authors. In Covington’s *The Brigade*, members of the Third Brigade of the Northwest Volunteer Army watch on TV as the Northwest tricolor, the symbol of the white racial revolutionaries is hoisted at the end of the Longview Conference, signifying that they have won:

“That’s General Frank Barrow, the head of our delegation, and General Brubaker from the U.S. Air Force. He’s the top American military rep at the conference,” said Hill in a low voice. Barrow handed the American flag to Brubaker, who clutched it to his chest, overcome with emotion. Then a woman stepped forward with a blue, white and green bundle in her hand. Her face even at this distance was seen to be scarred and peeled, the mark of long years of torture and abuse at the hands of the FBI and FATPO because of her refusal to betray her own husband. She was a legendary figure in the NVA. “That’s Cathy Frost,” said Hill. “I’d heard they brought her in up there to stir things up.”

The woman hooked the Tricolor to the lanyard and slowly raised the flag of the Northwest Republic over the land. Not for the first time; the Tricolor had been flying in many parts of the Homeland for several months, since President Chelsea Clinton’s speech. From hidden speakers somewhere in the hotel there crashed forth the mighty orchestra and chorus of what sounded like a hymn.

“What is that?” whispered Christina in wonder. “I know that song.”

“You remember it from long ago in church, honey,” said her father, his hand on her shoulder. “It is A Mighty Fortress, a hymn written by Martin Luther.”

“*Ein Festem Burg Ist Unser Gött*. They are singing in German,” said Sergeant Karl Vogler, Hatfield’s driver. Tears were streaming down his face.

“So they are,” said Hill somberly. “1945 is avenged, *korpsbrüder*.”

“A century of tyranny, oppression, and murder is avenged,” said Hatfield. Annette and Eric hugged one another, their eyes glued to the scene on the television. For a long moment they all simply stared at the screen, unable to take it all in, a long moment that stunned the entire world (Covington 2008, 503-504).

As can be seen, whereas Kay’s *The Third Revolution* fictionally avenges the defeat of the Confederate States of America by the United States, Covington’s writing avenges the defeat of the Nazi state. Regardless of their historical, ideological, or religious influences, white nationalist authors engage in a form of literary revenge, as they imagine their characters winning their various wars of independence.

As has been seen in subchapter 4.1.3, political revolution comes about when enough whites experience racial epiphany and “recover their ancient courage.” The idea of white nationalist revolution is not exclusively devoted to the notion of hate. In the novels, the idea flows much deeper than a surface emotion. Again, Jim Goad’s opinions on hate speak eloquently to the white nationalist view:

Why do people hate? It’s a natural human emotion, not some sinister aberration. Just as love comes from satisfaction, hate comes from frustration[...]. Hatespeak is usually more honest than lovespeak, and it’s always better than doublespeak[...]. HATRED comes from powerlessness, whereas DISDAIN—the sort that highfalutin media yogis show for the redneck rabble-rousers’ ethno-geo-ideological world—is more often reserved to the cushier classes. Poor people hate, while the affluent show disdain. The powerful have always regarded the powerless with a supercilious contempt that could very rightly be called hate (Goad 1998, 178-179, emphasis in the original).

Goad, for all his comments on ‘white trash’ is not a white supremacist, white separatist or any form of white nationalist, but he does express certain views that, while not necessarily revolutionary, do explain the process by which an ordinary white person can become so disillusioned with the system that they turn revolutionary. It is possible that the idea of a white revolution as envisioned in the novels examined might fall upon deaf ears but there can be no doubt that the revolutionary spirit that is advocated by the novelists in this chapter does appeal to a certain type of white person.

Finally, Goad’s comments are the best way to sum up the findings of subchapter 4.1.3, as the following quote illustrates the undercurrent of seething anger that is present in much of America’s white underclass:

The white liberal is an unsavory hybrid of Joseph Stalin and Mother Teresa. Too many rules mixed with too much righteousness. Sensitivity by force. Understanding by indoctrination. Brotherhood at gunpoint. The white liberals’ ideological opponents don’t merely disagree with him, they’re “sick.” White liberals aren’t thinkers, they’re ideologues. And they don’t possess the wisdom to tell the difference. Their [liberals’] fear of “the horrible” is as palpable as any fundamentalists, although the fundies have more vivid imaginations. The liberals’ beliefs, like those of the Jesus freaks, are founded on justice, goodness, and equality. In short, nothing that can be proven[...]. Their rebuttal to white supremacy is black supremacy. Their rejoinder to gay-bashing is demonization of hetero “breeders.” [...] They want to kill racism, but they shy away from anything too “white.” [...] They only seem able to uplift themselves while stepping on someone else’s face. They pin everything on white-male anger, as if there had never been corrupt political regimes in Asia, Africa, or Latin America. As if there had never been anything such as sexism, homophobia, ethnic bigotry, territorial aggression, or police brutality displayed in any of these places (Goad 1998, 241-242).

Goad taps into a well-spring of anger at the assumed duplicity of white liberals and, by extension, the power structure within the culture and politics that appears to criticize only whites but refuses to criticize blacks. The accusations leveled at the political left by Jim Goad, Lloyd Lennard and others appear to be that those on the political left are trying to force people into accepting ideas and people that are anathema to them and their way of life. Whereas this might appear to be the fulfillment of the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, to white nationalists, it is confirmation that the United States, at present, does not represent their interests. As stated in the world’s first sociology textbook by R. E. Park and W. E. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, “Progress, in so far as it makes the world more comfortable, makes it more complicated. Every new mechanical device, every advance in business organization or in science, which makes the world more tolerable for most of us, makes it impossible for others” (qtd. in Meštrović 1993, 49). While “diversity” and “multiculturalism” seem to be the fulfillment and logical outcome of an immigrant country like the United States, in light of the quote above,



it is possible that these advances in society might cause more upheavals, such as those seen in Charlottesville, Virginia, in August, 2017.

In *Freedom's Sons*, Covington imagines the first fifty years of the NAR—the Northwest American Republic—the white country founded by the revolutionaries who were fighting in the three previous novels in the saga. In the first part of *Freedom's Sons*, the revolutionaries have won and the problems of running a modern country come to the fore. One of the revolutionaries, Jason Stockdale becomes the Chancellor of the University of Montana (in Missoula). In enquiring about a one of his colleagues who has gone missing, presumably killed by the “new brooms” of the NAR, one of Stockdale’s former professors, Clancy Myers gets the answer to his enquiry, which also elucidates the reasons for the revolution:

What we have to do, Dr. Myers, is wrench that train of Western civilization back onto the track by force, the same way we took this land from the United States, because it is now apparent that nothing else will work. Our enemies are utterly implacable, they are impervious to civil argument or reason, and so from now on, they get a club upside the head[...]. We will not allow disloyalty, subversion, incitement or cultural poisoning from within the Republic or from outside it. This non-existent person you referred to and all like her are finally going to hear the word *no*, loud and clear. [...] We are returning to the old ways where gray areas are few and far between, and what is bad and sinful is not only not tolerated, but *punished*.<sup>150</sup>

The main idea of the above quote is that for white nationalists, there are no ‘areas of gray’ and there is such a thing as ‘right’ and ‘wrong,’ in contrast to the perceived permissiveness of the current popular culture. Again, while white nationalism can be viewed as ‘regressive,’ to use Michael Kimmel’s phraseology, it is also revolutionary, as it yearns for something new.

### 4.3 “If We Don’t Fight, We Will Surely Perish”: A Recapitulation

While the above three themes are present within all white nationalist novels, there are other ideas that weave into and out of the novels that also need to be mentioned. First, in the majority of novels there is an underlying rural/urban conflict and an upper class vs. lower class conflict, more along the lines of traditional revolutions of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, mainly in South America and Africa. However, Covington’s novels also include a few upper-class characters that see the light/have a moment of *anagorsis* and convert to white nationalism.

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<sup>150</sup> (Covington 2013, 98-99). Emphasis in the original. The ‘non-existent person’ referred to in the quote was a white lesbian Communications professor who is ‘disappeared’ by the white revolutionaries once they take power. Indeed, the white revolutionaries are in the process of erasing every reference to her existence at the time Dr. Clancy Myers spoke to Jason Stockdale. See H. A. Covington, *Freedom's Sons*, Chapter IV: New Dawn (Six Months After Longview), pp. 88-109.

There is also a sense that history is circular, i.e. “what goes around comes around.” While normally mentioned in the revolutionary sense, meaning that one group is never on top of the society for long, it also implies that a ‘true’ white person never forgets their racial heritage regardless of how omnipresent ‘anti-white’ culture is within American society, according to white nationalist discourse. To remember one’s true heritage, it only takes a moment of *anagorsis*. While the novels may be totally alien in ideology, they are truly revolutionary as they imagine the new society that will be built upon the old, once the old order has been destroyed or implodes. This idea further reinforces Schivelbusch’s concept that in history, nothing is ever truly annihilated and the concept that no cause is truly lost until there is no person willing to fight for it.

## **5. Towards the Future: Possibilities for Further Research**

*Everybody says there is this RACE problem. Everybody says this RACE problem will be solved when the third world pours into EVERY White country and ONLY into White countries. Everybody says the final solution to this RACE problem is for EVERY White country and ONLY White countries to "assimilate," i.e., intermarry with all those non- Whites. [...] But I tell that obvious truth about the ongoing program of genocide against my race, the White race [...] Liberals and respectable conservatives agree that I am a naziwho-wantstokillsixmillionjews. They say they are anti-racist. What they are is anti-White. Anti-racist is a code word for anti-White (Roper 2014, no page, emphasis in the original).*

*"When it's really crunch time, when you're right down in the mud and the blood, there's only two kinds of people: the ones with the fire power and the dead ones. Fancy words don't mean crap when someone is pointing a gun at you!" (Bracken 2003, 119).*

*"America is at that awkward stage. It's too late to work within the system, but it's too early to shoot the bastards" (Bracken 2003, 164).*

In this last chapter, further possibilities for research will be examined. Generally speaking, the field is completely open in many ways. However, several different areas need to be taken into consideration that researchers might want to consider. These areas include a more in-depth examination of the neo-Confederate novels by Gregory Kay, Lloyd Lennard, and various others, the gender relationships present in all white nationalist novels and their rejection of current ideas regarding gender and the roles of men and women, as well as one of the most understudied aspects of white nationalist novels which is the ideological background of the novels and the ways in which these ideas are reflected by the characters and how the genre has changed or morphed over time, while maintaining the same message. Finally, the relationship between numerous historical time periods and the various cycles of white nationalist novels is also another area that needs to be more extensively researched, namely how events in the real world reflect the fictional worlds created by the authors of white nationalist novels.

## 5.1 Neo-Confederate Novels

Besides the aforementioned essay by Kevin Hicks on the neo-Confederate novels of the Depression era and Lloyd Lennard and the forthcoming article by the author of this project,

research on the neo-Confederate novels is almost nonexistent.<sup>151</sup> While researchers seem to revel in pointing out the racism present in Thomas Dixon Jr.'s novels; at present, no scholar to date has examined Dixon's last novel, *The Flaming Sword*, and most have ignored his other novels, like his Socialist Trilogy, and America Invaded novel, *The Fall of a Nation*.<sup>152</sup> These novels, while not neo-Confederate per se, do reinforce the various ideas present in the subgenre, like a very strict gender relationship, an adherence to the beliefs of one's ancestors, and a particularly conservative social outlook. Unfortunately, space was limited in this work and the author felt that the neo-Confederate novel of Emory Burke, *The Unlifted Curse* might be better examined in a later article. Burke's novel is an interesting combination of historical fiction, biblical quotes, and social commentary mixed with an attack on the evils of slavery and promoting a stringent separation of the races based on an Old Testament-based reading of God's plan for humanity. This novel, along with the others within the subgenre of neo-Confederate novels and Redeemer novels, such as Thomas Dixon's Reconstruction Trilogy provide a bridge between the conservative Patriot and TEOTWAWKI novels and the more white revolutionary novels of H. A. Covington, D. A. Hanks, William Pierce, Billy Roper and others. Neo-Confederate novels seem to serve a particularly regressive purpose within white nationalist fiction. While the *Third Revolution* cycle by Gregory Kay are the most revolutionary novels of the subgenre, most of the novels still adhere to a conservative, pro-American, pro-Constitution stance, basically straddling the world of the revolutionaries and those who still believe that it is possible for America to go back to the 1950s, or, as H. A. Covington put it, "To return to the world of *The Brady Bunch*, sans niggers and the multinational corporations" (Covington 2011, 12).

Furthermore, it would be remiss to not mention the backlash against various symbols of the Confederacy produced by the July 2015 Charleston murders of nine blacks by Dylann Roof and whether that event will produce any novels of note produced by the white nationalist/racist right or by the neo-Confederate movement. At the time of writing, March 2017, no novels have been produced that examine this topic. Finally, while the Sons of Confederate Veterans disavowed the Ku Klux Klan and associated organizations in the 1990s, many 'social activists'

<sup>151</sup> J. Eric Starnes, "The Weeping Widow: The Act of Grieving in the Reconstruction South in Selected Southern White Nationalist Novels," forthcoming article.

<sup>152</sup> Dixon's 'Socialist Trilogy,' consisting of *The One Woman* (published in 1903), *The Root of Evil* (1905), and *Comrades* (1909) have been given extremely short shrift by current researchers of the literature of the far-right, with many researchers ignoring the various tropes present in *The Fall of a Nation* (1916), that have influenced the present 'Patriot'/'Constitutionalist'/TEOTWAWKI novels.

still tar both organizations with the same brush and the cultural battles waged by many Southern ‘heritage’ activists seem to be lost. As with the fallout caused by Dylann Roof and the rise of a new age of Black activism in the guise of Black Lives Matter and the New Black Panthers, with the associated national debate over white privilege and white racism, if history is any indicator, a new cycle of white nationalist novels should be on the horizon, mostly coming from the neo-Confederate right and the pro-constitutionalist Tea Party faction or even a new upsurge of TEOTWAWKI novels with racial elements. Furthermore, very few scholars of the contemporary right seem to delve into the novels produced by the various strands of the neo-Confederate movement. Admittedly, these novels are not on the *New York Times*’ bestseller lists and are considered ‘underground,’ although they can be purchased from various online retailers, such as Amazon.com. The elitism present in contemporary Americanist scholarship, focusing more, as it does, on authors who reinforce the prevailing social sentiments does a disservice to American studies as a whole, as it provides a skewed picture of white American society. There is a large group of people who do not believe in the “change” represented by Barack Obama, or the neo-conservative Republicans. This group, who call themselves ‘ordinary’ or working class are mostly rural, self-described traditionalists, gun-owning, staunchly Christian (even more staunchly Christian than the neo-Conservatives), with many being military veterans. Indeed, the more ‘revolutionary’ novels within the neo-Confederate movement, Kay’s and Lennard’s, were written by military veterans, Kay having served in the U.S. Army and Lennard having served in the U.S. Navy during World War Two.

## **5.2 Gender Issues in White Nationalist Novels**

One of the most fascinating developments within the last several years has been the development of a branch of TEOTWAWKI novels written by women. While these novels are not necessarily white nationalist, the TEOTWAWKI novels do share certain elements that are also present in white nationalist novels such as: a strict adherence to the pre-1861 Constitution, a particular aversion to any form of gun control, a demonization of the federal government, in particular ‘nonelected’ bureaucrats and appointed federal judges, a suspicion as to the intentions

of multinational corporations and NGOs, and a belief in the resurgence, albeit rebirth of the “true” spirit of American freedom.

Whereas Hicks asserted that the novel written by Ellen Williams entitled *Bedford: A World Vision* is neo-Confederate, nothing in the novel approaches the idea of the neo-Confederacy, except for advocating a fairly conservative view of Christianity and society in general. While the novel is set in Alabama, and there is a description of minority students who take out their vehemence on ‘Euro-students’ because their ‘ancestors were oppressors,’ nothing else in the novel could be construed as neo-Confederate, unless one would stretch the definition of ‘neo-Confederate’ and ‘white nationalist’ to the point where those terms would encompass any novel that is anti-political correctness. Just because a novel is anti-political correctness does not make it neo-Confederate nor white nationalist. The novel is not racially inclined in anyway whatsoever, which eliminates this novel from the white nationalist genre and the sub-genre of neo-Confederacy novels in particular because it does not paint white Southerners as a ‘distinct’ race of people with a distinct culture. This novel would be better placed in the ‘evangelical’ Christian genre, along with the novels by Larry Burkett *The Illuminati* and *The Thor Conspiracy*. This genre would also encompass the massive *Political left Behind* saga, of which the popularity was only rivalled by the Bible within certain circles.<sup>153</sup>

The gender relationships within American white nationalist novels have been briefly mentioned in this project, however, it would be of interest if they were explored more fully in the future. In particular, the newer novels that have been published since 2000 show a specific form of genderized relationship in which women, as well as men, find their “natural” status,” without the interference of the “alien” and “artificial” influence of feminism and political correctness. In Lane’s *KD Rebel*, an eighteen-year old girl, Dory is kidnapped by one of the Kindred, Eric. As she struggles in her new life, she is introduced to the *88 Precepts*, by which the Kindred live. While the Kindred live according to Nordic pagan law, they also instill a sense of independent thinking in their captives, as Dory finds when she reads:

[S]he was struck by the absolute logic in the teachings that all living things are subject to natural laws. It seemed impossible to deny. After a lifetime of propaganda about “equality,” she found the 29th Precept to be devastatingly iconoclastic. It read, “The concept of equality is declared a lie by every evidence of nature. It is a search for the lowest common denominator, and its pursuit will destroy every superior race, nation of culture. In order for a plow horse to run as fast as a race horse, you would first have to cripple the race

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<sup>153</sup> For more information on the *Left Behind* series, see *Skipping Towards Armageddon: The Politics and Propaganda of the Left Behind Novels and the LaHaye Empire* by Michael Standaert (Boston, MA: Soft Skull Press, 2006).

horse; conversely, in order for a race horse to pull as much as a plow horse, you would first have to cripple the plow horse. In either case, the pursuit of equality is the destruction of excellence” (Lane 2004, 69).

In that sense, the novels mirror the aforementioned *Gor* novels. This series, while advocating a ‘master/slave’ male/female relationship as the natural state of both men and women, in which modern sensibilities have forced an unnatural situation where men are not truly men and women are not truly women. While this idea seems antithetical to modern Western ideas regarding gender, it could and has been argued that there seems to be something missing from Western society, as evidenced by the popularity of the ‘bodice-ripper’ type of romance novels and men’s adventure novels, which reinforce certain stereotypes of traditional aspects of gender.<sup>154</sup>

In the above sense, many white nationalist novels reinforce the ideas presented in *Gor* series, because of its insistence on the natural state of men and women is the master/slave relationship. As mentioned by a female character in *Kur of Gor*, number 27 of the series, “We do not dream of weaklings. We dream of masters” (Norman 2009, 687). While white nationalism views male/female relationships as partnerships based on traditional roles, it does not go as far as to call for the female to be a slave to her husband, either in the bedroom or outside of it. Indeed, they appear to be promoting a very traditional form of gender relationship, as seen by the below conversation between Cody Brock and Emily Pastras. Moreover, it would appear that some of the more radical white ‘revolutionary’ novels are more akin to the post-World War One Freikorps novels, or the “New War” novels examined by James Gibson in *Warrior Dreams*, where men only find their true nature only in combat or physical struggle. Furthermore, the fascination with combat, guns, and revolution exemplify some of the more radical undercurrents of the genre. Besides the blatant racism present in white nationalist novels, many, if not the overwhelming majority of them, would fit quite easily into the men’s adventure genre of novels that sit at the edges of mainstream American literature. While James Gibson in his *Warrior Dreams* examines

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<sup>154</sup> The surprising fascination with John Norman’s *Gor* novels by a sizeable portion of women within the fantasy community is evidence that, indeed, something is ‘missing’ within the gender relationships in American society. For more information on the ‘bodice rippers’ and their appeal to women, see Sarah Wendell and Candy Tan, *Beyond Heaving Bosoms: The Smart Bitches’ Guide to Romance Novels* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2009), particularly Chapter Codpiece: ‘The Romance Hero’ and Chapter Bad Sex: ‘Rape in Romance,’ also Kay Mussell, *Fantasy and Reconciliation: Contemporary Formulas of Women’s Romance Fiction* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984), particularly Chapter 5: ‘Authority, Patriarchy, and Sexuality.’ While a bit dated, Mussell provides an excellent introduction to the fantasies that are most often portrayed in women’s romance fiction. If used in conjunction with Wendell and Tan’s book mentioned above, the interested reader should have a solid foundation for further research. For the popularity of the *Gor* series, see James E Combs, *Polpop 2: Politics and Popular Culture in America Today* (New York: Popular Press, 1991) and [www.gorchronicles.com](http://www.gorchronicles.com), specifically the essay “Misconceptions of Gor” by Lemuel of the Builders (a pseudonym/member name used on the site).

this genre in depth, the study is dated and no scholar, at present, has revisited the genre to see what changes, if any, have occurred since Gibson's study was published in the late 1990s. Combat, at its most elemental form, is the struggle for physical survival and it is in that milieu that these novels seem to appeal to most readers. In fact, some of the novels mirror the *Freikorps* novels written by the *Freikorps-Kämpfer* and other German authors in the post-World War One period, in particular the writings of Ernst Jünger and Ernst von Salomon, both combat veterans.

The meaning behind many white nationalist novels is that 'traditional' gender relationships are the best for white societies. In this sense, an overriding sense of traditional masculinity and femininity, along with a traditional family structure, where the man serves as the main breadwinner, with the woman as the heart of the home serve as the basis for any 'sane' society. While many white nationalist novels bemoan the fact that most white working-class families, even with two breadwinners, teeter on the edge of poverty, they also advocate a return to a 'simpler' time. In particular, the novels of H.A. Covington and D. A. Hanks seem to build upon the notion that 'something just isn't right' with contemporary American society and the gender relationships promoted by current culture, where men live in their parents' basement until their thirties and women are taught to hate men because feminism has imbued women with a debased sense of femininity and sexuality. Again, H. A. Covington is quoted here, mainly because he is the most prolific of white nationalist authors. In the aforementioned *A Mighty Fortress*, just before the Longview Conference, Cody Brock and Emily Pastras have volunteered to infiltrate an evangelical church that appears to be gearing up to attack the white nationalist revolutionaries and the white separatist government that is starting to form in the Pacific Northwest. The night before going into the church and trying to get the minister and his aides into revealing their plans, Cody and Emily are sleeping in separate beds and begin discussing the female/male situation in the United States in which they are living and fighting against:

"Emily, for Christ's sake don't think I'm dissing you in any way. I'm not, I swear. But I shouldn't be fighting *with* you at my side. I should be fighting *for* you or-well, for some woman, back in a home some place with a family and children that I am trying to protect from these horrible tyrants. That's the way it's been down through history. And you, I mean women, you've always been a civilizing and moderating influence on men and their urge to fight one another. Kind of a brake that periodically gets called into play to stop us boys from burning down the whole house with our horseplay, so to speak [...]

[Emily responds] "Look Cody, you're spot on. It doesn't feel right to me either, because it *isn't* right. It's completely against nature for me to be doing what I'm doing, and I despise the Jewish feminists like Gloria Steinem and Germaine Greer and Shulamith Firestone and Andrea Dworkin and the whole plug-ugly nickel-nosed crew. They started all this nutty man- hating crap, this idea that men are enemies and competitors, so that now two generations later I have to live like this. I should be wearing dresses every day, and really baking cookies for a decent and honorable man who loves me and protects me and supports



me, so I can get on with my job in life of raising as many children as I can bear, beg, borrow, or steal. I need a man to the head of the family while I am the heart. That's what every female chromosome in my being demands that I do, but these damned Jews and the lunatic world of toxic waste they've made won't let me do it (Covington 2005, 200).

In a short conversation, the natural side of male/female relationships within white nationalist novels is revealed. In essence, there are several threads that are bound together in Emily's response to Cody's comment, namely that (a) feminism is against a woman's nature because it proposes that men are the enemy, (b) Jews, like the ones mentioned above, push all women but especially white women to embrace feminism because it advances the Jewish goal of destroying the white race, and (c) women would be much happier raising children and looking after the home, which in reality, has been their primary role historically. Again, white nationalist fiction reinforces certain traditional gender norms because they are considered to be natural, meaning within the natures of both men and women.

Finally, there seems to be an American fascination with white women being 'amazons' and helpless 'damsels in distress.' While one might argue that this attitude plays on the 'Madonna/whore' complex and other male fantasies, there appears to be a deeper psycho/cultural phenomenon at play in the American cultural psyche. While Tom Engelhardt mentioned the Captivity Narratives in his *The End of Victory Culture*, there were other cycles of novels that concentrated on the capture or temptation of white women. The aforementioned Convent Exposés of the 1830s -1850s concentrated on the debauched proceedings in Catholic convents where white women would be brutalized, raped and traumatized; these were followed by the White Slave narratives of the 1880s to 1920, which fed into and reflected the Yellow Peril novels of the same time period, whereas these novels mostly concentrated on fears of an Asian invasion, they also included elements of temptation of white women as an underlying issue. Furthermore, the rise of the Lost World novels during the first decade of 1900, along with the growth of film saw new horizons for white female captives. D. W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* in 1915, the screenplay of which was written by Thomas Dixon Jr., celebrated the white female captive and elevated the Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan to the role of the guardian of white womanhood from the trepidations of the black 'monster' rapist.

After World War Two, the mystery novels of the Mickey Spillane, along with the pulp men's magazines elevated the white female captive to national prominence, although there had been the 'white slave narratives' earlier in the century. While Mickey Spillane described himself

as “the chewing gum of American literature,” he was also one of America’s bestselling authors of all time, with ten out of the top twenty-five bestselling books in American history.<sup>155</sup> Admittedly, Spillane and others like him were cashing in on America’s post-war enthusiasm for the vigilantes who would protect America from communism, the books written by Spillane also poked at a part of the American psyche—protecting white women. Finally, the aforementioned *Gor* series by John Norman, with its appealing fantasy art covers of mostly scantily-clad, voluptuous white women seems to be the penultimate in captivity narratives. While four of Norman’s *Gor* novels, out of a total of thirty-four have featured non-white women, these characters are minor compared to the overwhelming majority of white women featured in the novels. Furthermore, the *Gor* novels themselves are not about race but about the true “natural” relationship between the sexes. However, with their insistence on “natural” relationships, it would behoove American literary specialists to enquire as to the various cycles of captivity narratives, for, like white nationalist literature, these novels come in cycles but the themes that are featured in them keep getting recycled from one era to the next.

### 5.3 Ideological Background and Ties to the TEOTWAWKI Novels

No scholar has yet attempted at an examination of the so-called Patriot/Constitutionalist novels. While Jim Fulcher, in his article “The America Militia Conspiracy Novel” examines how popular mainstream novelists envision militia members, he, like most scholars, refused to recognize the novels written by Militia members themselves.<sup>156</sup> Admittedly, Fulcher’s article was published in 2001; however, even then, there were more than enough novels that could serve as a basis for an examination of the Militia worldview, along with the tendrils that stretch and connect it with the white nationalist/white separatist movement.

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<sup>155</sup> In an interview in David Halberstam’s *The Fifties*, episode 2 “The Fear and the Dream” at 15:10, Mickey Spillane called himself “a mystery writer, not a detective writer,” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Em1QddY5-TI&list=PL4THY4Tgso-4SBDBJsdSCxwzjBzNmVbL5>, uploaded by Knowles Knows, 16 Jan. 2014(access: 04.07.2015). It seems that many Americanist scholars have decided to forego any study of this genre, though two books of recent note have emerged, namely *Gumshoe America: Hard-Boiled Crime Fiction and the Rise and Fall of New Deal Liberalism* by Sean McCann (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000) and John Cullen Gruesser, *Race, Gender and Empire in American Detective Fiction* (Jefferson, NC: MacFarland and Co. Publishers, Inc., 2013). Of the two, McCann’s book is the more broad-ranging. By contrast, Gruesser concentrates on the early stirrings of detective fiction to around the mid-1920s.

<sup>156</sup> Jim Fulcher, “The American Militia Conspiracy Novel,” *Studies in Popular Culture*, vol. 24 No. 1 (October 2001), 59-70.

American white nationalism and the Patriot/Constitutionalist movement share the same background but very few scholars have delved into the shared ideology and history of both movements. There remains a gaping hole in the research regarding the morphing of the far-right from the Hard Christian right, to use Leo P. Ribuffo's terminology, the supporters of which were self-described 'patriotic' Americans and how that group became the anti-government, white separatist right of the 1970s, '80s, and '90s and into the new century. Furthermore, the ties between the current explosion of TEOTWAWKI novels and the novels of the Christian/Evangelical right, aka the Christian Patriot right and the white nationalist right have yet to be explored or indeed, explained. As all three reflect and reinforce each other in their suspicion of an overreaching federal government (the so-called ZOG, the Beast or Big Brother), vehement opposition to gun control, a strict adherence to the Constitution, a literal reading of the Bible, opposition to homosexuality, abortion, and various other social ills, and a particular vision of the way in which history progresses, along with an extremely specific image of what the United States is and why it was founded and for whom, all three reflect the fears and trepidations of a particular segment of the American white population, which has been ignored by scholars.

Whereas the novels on the 'Patriot' and white nationalist right, along with the TEOTWAWKI genre represent a particular worldview of the coming collapse of the United States, these novels also characterize a growing discomfort with the machinations of both political parties, multinational corporations, and various social justice movements. The current white nationalist animosity with the supposed fascination with Political leftist radical revolutionaries on many American university campuses seems to be reinforced by the embracing of political leftist ideologies of what white nationalists phrase as "cultural Marxism" on many of the same university campuses, thus, buttressing the argument by conservatives and white nationalists that America's universities are hotbeds of 'radical' politics and anti-American sentiment.<sup>157</sup> Indeed, it is not unusual to see quotes from communist revolutionary Che Guevara

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<sup>157</sup> See Roger Kimball, *Tenured Radicals: How Politics Has Corrupted Our Higher Education* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), David Horowitz, *Indoctrination U.: The Political Left's War Against Academic Freedom* (New York: Encounter Books, 2007), and Michael Walsh, *The Devil's Pleasure Palace: The Cult of Critical Theory and the Subversion of the West* (New York: Encounter Books, 2015). Furthermore, the U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, subcommittee on Health Care, Benefits and Administrative Rules and the subcommittee on Intergovernmental Rules took up the debate on the state of freedom of speech on American college campuses with testimony from Ben Shapiro, Adam Carolla, New York University Law professor Nadine Strossen, the Anti-Defamation League's National Commissioner, Frederick Lawrence, and former provost of Evergreen State College, Dr. Michael Zimmerman. See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xRrGLGqrs80>, uploaded (streamed live) 07.27.2017 by Daily Liberty, (access: 07.28.2017).

at American Ethnic Studies and Gender Studies centers, though one has to wonder what the famous ‘Compañero’ has to do with studying ethnicity and gender, unless, of course, the professors in charge of these departments wish to bring about a communist revolution in the United States and inspire their students to violently overthrow the United States government. It is the radicalness of the present American university campus that mortifies not just conservative commentators and authors but, more importantly for this work, white nationalist authors. Ben Shapiro, a Jewish conservative political commentator, spoke at length on this topic in his September 14, 2017 speech at the University of California at Berkeley entitled “Say No to Campus Thuggery.” Whereas the below excerpts are lengthy, they display the sentiments of current right-wing American cultural conservatives as regards the left’s perceived attacks on American exceptionalism:

Antifa couldn’t go anywhere without an ideology that runs broader than antifa, without a group of people willing to look the other way. Well, what is the view that undergirds antifa? What’s the view that undergirds the hard left, many of whom, celebrate antifa or were doing so until it became politically unpalatable to do so? It’s a view that America is a terrible, horrible, no good, very bad place. Now, the truth is that America is an incredible place, it’s a wonderful place. It’s the greatest place in the history of the world. It is the most freest, the most prosperous, the most tolerant country in the world in the history of planet Earth. [...] That means that in a free country, if you fail, it’s probably your own fault. If it is somebody else’s fault, if somebody is trying to throw up obstacles in front of you in a way that is unjust and bigoted, point out the specific instance so we can all side with you. [...] But unfortunately on college campuses and for the left more generally, there has been this notion that America is bad, and the reason you fail is because America has historically been very bad. This is the identity politics of the left because America’s bad and it targets you and we have an entire hierarchy of intersectionality that’s been built by the left to tell you whether your views are legitimate or not. I mean the more victimized you are, the more legitimate your views are. So, the hierarchy goes something like this, the people whose views are the most valuable and who have been the most victimized. At the very top are people who are LGBT, and then you get black people, and then you get women, and then you get Hispanic people, and then you get Native Americans, and then you get Asians, Jews maybe above Asians, Jews, then Asians, then, at the very, very bottom you get straight white males. Those are the people who have nothing to say about anything because obviously they are the beneficiaries of this white privilege system. Now, the logic of intersectionality, because it suggests the value of your opinion lies in your ethnic identity, in your group identity; the idea is that if I attack your ideas, if I say that you have bad ideas, what I am really doing is attacking you personally. [...] My words are violence. [...] You cannot fix past injustices with current injustices (Ben Shapiro, “Say No to Campus Thuggery,” 09.14.2017).<sup>158</sup>

Shapiro is an advocate of American exceptionalism and a cultural conservative; however, even though he is not a white nationalist, he recognizes in the left’s discourse a very aggressive ideology that produces an aggressive ideology from the right. He goes on to explain that both the identity politics of the left and the right are doing massive damage to the nation as a whole.

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<sup>158</sup> <http://www.youtube/watch?v=Ae4VZTVEFC4>. Uploaded 09.14.2017 by Trump Truth Watch (access: 09.18.2017)

Finally, he ends his presentation with the way to fix the problem; namely, to “stop treating everyone according to their ethnic category and start treating people as individuals”.<sup>159</sup>

It has been argued that there are as many visions of the United States as there are people who populate the country. However, at present, there seems to be at least two major visions of the country that are both vying for ‘the’ vision for the country—one—from the political left is inclusive of every idea from the political and social political left—with gay rights, diversity, multiculturalism and a particular utopian-inspired vision of mankind and an ever-advancing humanity. The other vision takes a more pessimistic position and evokes the old Puritan mis-named WASP work ethic. Indeed, these two visions have been at war within the culture and society of the United States since the late 1950s.<sup>160</sup> However, as relates to the genres under examination in this work, these genres take the position that the United States is under the process of collapsing. While that collapse is pictured as a molasses-like slow descent into economic chaos, racial strife and societal breakdown, the question still remains as to why have all three genres exploded with novels at present. Is it the continued rise of print-per-order publishing, the ease with which desk top publishing allows budding authors to see their books in print, or a combination of all of these factors, plus a number of other historical, societal, and cultural factors? Only a very intrepid researcher can delve into the multitude of possibilities that would answer these questions.

Furthermore, the novels of Covington and others mourn the destruction of the family farm and the accompanying disappearance of a way of life that occurred with the disappearance of the family farm in the Midwest and Pacific Northwest in the 1980s. Indeed, it was the ‘farm crisis’ of the early-mid 1980s that sparked a rise in the Militia groups and the various violent reactions by the Federal government that culminated in the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995.

Obviously, the ideological background of white nationalist novels, along with the ‘Patriot’ novels and the TEOTWAWKI novels come from a multitude of ideological milieus, some of which have been explored, albeit briefly, in this work. Admittedly, all of these milieus come from the right-wing of American politics and, is found in the overall international right philosophy. However, the more revolutionary the novel, the more popular it appears to be within

<sup>159</sup> <http://www.youtube/watch?v=Ae4VZTVEFC4>. Uploaded 09.14.2017 by Trump Truth Watch (access: 09.18.2017)

<sup>160</sup> For more on the United States’ supposed fracturing see Yuval Levin, *The Fractured Republic: Our Dissolving Social Contract in the Age of Individualism* (New York: Basic Books, 2016).

the American white nationalist right. Therefore, it might be fruitful for future scholars of the white nationalist right to take a closer look at the philosophical and revolutionary background of the more current cycle of white nationalist and TEOTWAWKI novels, coming as they do at the apex of Barack Obama's administration.

#### **5.4 Historical Periods and the Cycles of White Nationalist Novels**

At present, no scholars have examined the reason why white nationalist novels seem to come in cycles. It seems that certain time periods evoke authors to compose novels, while other historical events evoke nothing from white nationalist-inclined authors. For instance, the decades immediately after Reconstruction produced many novels that examined those turbulent times and continued to be published into the 1920s. However, the Civil Rights era and the various movements which came out of that era produced only one novel of note, *The Turner Diaries*, which started as a serial in *White Power* magazine in 1972, and saw publication in book form only in 1978.

Overall, there have been five cycles of white nationalist fiction, all of them prompted by historical events and/or seismic cultural and societal changes. As such, while all white nationalist novels share certain themes, within the various cycles, other themes, more consistent with their time can be ascertained. The proto-white nationalist novels of the First Cycle, those of Ruffin and Tucker, concentrate on independence for the South which would have guaranteed a protection of the "peculiar institution" of slavery—keeping African-Americans as second or third class citizens in perpetuity.

The Second or Redeemer cycle developed as a response to the defeat of the Southern Confederacy and the rise of the Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan, which arose in response to the Reconstruction Acts. This cycle was identified with a glorification or justification of the actions of the Ku Klux Klan and other like-minded 'regulator' groups. A hero, who might have been a 'reluctant Rebel,' or even supporter of the Republican party goes through a series of trials and eventually experiences an epiphany by which he converts to the white supremacist cause, or, in the case of Thomas Dixon's characters, were sons of Confederate veterans or Confederate veterans themselves who value the South's social institution of racial separation and are willing to fight for it. In this cycle, the enemies are white 'racial traitors,' be they "carpetbaggers" or

“scalawags” and freed blacks. While some of these novels were popular in the South, it was Thomas Dixon’s *Reconstruction Trilogy* that made this cycle more than a regional phenomenon. Finally, the theme of small bands of ideologically motivated political ‘soldiers’ fighting against overwhelming odds is a primary theme in this cycle but one that is repeated in all subsequent cycles.

The Third Cycle concentrates more on the results of “invasion” by masses of Asians (the Yellow Peril novels), their supposed tempting of white women through drugs (the White Slave narratives), which echoed the pre-Revolutionary War captivity narratives and the Early Republic Convent Exposés and white complacency at the threats posed by ‘alien’ peoples and ideologies (socialism and communism). Further, with the rise of socialism in Europe, this cycle also exposed the risks that the republic faced if it did not heed the warnings of the authors and adopt a stridently anti-socialist, further, anti-communist stance (the First Red Scare novels). The enemies of these novels are whites who have adopted the attitudes of Socialism and the “Brotherhood of Man” (i.e. Felix Hyde in *Sown in the Darkness, A.D. 2000*) or “oriental” potentates devoted to the destruction of the white race through miscegenation (the Khan in *The Red Napoleon*). Overall, this cycle illustrates the fears of a fast-changing American culture and society.

The Fourth Cycle brings white nationalist fiction into the contemporary era and is exemplified by a more strident anti-government stance than previous cycles. In essence, the authors of cycles Two and Three were echoing governmental and popular attitudes concerning race, though by the late 1920s racial attitudes had started to change in the bigger cities of the United States, mainly due to the mixing of whites and blacks in the speakeasies and the rise in political power of the NAACP and ADL. However, the novels of the Fourth Cycle start to envision a new form of all-white government and the furthering of the idea of small bands of white revolutionary political ‘soldiers’ who are focused on changing America’s racial attitudes by overthrowing the government and replacing it with a ‘whites-only’ government (*The Turner Diaries*). Furthermore, the attacking of America’s changing racial attitudes, an overwhelming sense of hope in the face of current defeat, a belief that the white race is under threat of physical extinction, which was expressed as a fear in Cycle Three, are also the more obvious recurring themes in this cycle. In essence, this cycle ends with a culmination of the motifs of all previous cycles in Ward Kendall’s *Hold Back This Day*. The expression of the solution posed by Kendall’s

vision of a dystopian world where whites are exterminated by miscegenation is expressed in Cycle Five.

The current cycle of white nationalist novels, Cycle Five, is marked by the appearance of sagas—a series of novels in which there are recurring characters, such as Covington’s *Northwest Novels*, Gregory Kay’s *The Third Revolution* tetralogy and Billy Roper’s *Hasten the Day* trilogy. Moreover, this cycle advocates the most extreme position of all the cycles, namely, that the only way for the white race to survive on the North American continent, or indeed, in the world, is for racial separation to occur. Additionally, the dystopian and utopian features of white nationalist fiction are overly apparent in the present cycle, with all novels exploring a collapse of the United States into various kinds of ethnic statelets, envisioning a Balkanization of the United States. This dystopian vision is followed by a new era in which the white race in the United States forms its own nation, either by force or by default. While these cycles have operated on the fringes of American literature with occasional forays into popularity, Thomas Dixon being the obvious example, other novels have also intertwined with white nationalist novels as an outlet for the rage felt among certain sectors of the white underclass.

While some scholars have chosen to focus on the rise of the so-called militia movements of the 1990s, no scholar has examined the wave of anti-politically correct novels that accompanied the rise of the militia movement that were published before the rise of the militia movements. Furthermore, the Farm Crisis of the mid-1980s produced the Posse Comitatus, or ‘power of the county,’ a movement that believes that the highest power is that of the highest elected official of the county, the sheriff. This association has also influenced many of the novels written by white nationalists and, oddly enough, the group of ‘prepper’ TEOTWAWKI novels.

The psychology of the relationship between a novel and its readers is something that should be explored more thoroughly from a less exclusive perspective. Americanist scholars seem to be ignoring the open avenues of research that deal with the lower classes and their literature. The recent publication of a review of men’s magazines of the 1950s, *It’s a Man’s World* by Adam Parfrey is a step in the right direction, as is the aforementioned *Warrior Dreams* by James Gibson; however, more work needs to be done in this area, as the changing attitudes of manhood, femininity and gender relationships, along with the changing position of the working-class white male and his position in contemporary American society also needs to be further explored. Undoubtedly, Jim Goad’s 1998 *Redneck Manifesto* and Greg Gutfeld’s *Not Cool: The*



*Hipster Elite and Their War on You* from 2014 have barely scratched the surface of the rage that is felt among working-class, heterosexual whites as to their seeming lack of societal respect. It is, after all, this seeming lack of respect that is an overarching motif in white nationalist novels.

### 5.5 Recapitulating the Needs

The field of white nationalist literature remains *terra incognita* in many respects. The lack of research into the neo-Confederate novels, gender relationships, their ideological background, along with ties to the TEOTWAWKI genre, and finally, the historical periods and cycles of the white nationalist genre all need to be further explored by scholars. The lack of research into these areas presents a rather skewed vision of the ways in which American white nationalist literature, along with radical/revolutionary American literature in general, have developed. Moreover, it also presents a rather elitist view of American literary history towards novels written on the fringes of American society.

It is acknowledged that while race is a very volatile topic in current American culture and society, the investigation of the literature written by white nationalists of various political persuasions needs to be increased as the United States enters a period of changing cultural and racial makeups, with the future population of the United States becoming majority minority, it is highly likely that white nationalist novels will continue to be written and the feeling among certain sectors of working-class whites that their attitudes, beliefs, and indeed, culture are being eradicated by the cultural elites, minorities and intellectuals; white nationalism will also continue to appeal to certain groups within the overall American white population. Furthermore, with the spread of desktop publishing and new translation technologies, the distribution of these novels beyond the borders of the U.S. is becoming more popular among international white nationalists. Already, Covington's 2008 novel, *The Brigade* has been translated into French, German, Russian, and Swedish, with translations into Greek, Hungarian, Norwegian, Polish and other European languages planned.<sup>161</sup> It remains to be seen if these novels will have any impact on the rise of the right in the U.S. or in Europe; however, the trauma that produces these novels is still being felt.

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<sup>161</sup> Email correspondence with the author in a letter dated June 8<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

## Conclusions

*It's tragic to think that heroic man's great destiny is to become economic man, that men will be reduced to craven creatures who crawl across the globe competing for money, who spend their nights dreaming up new ways to swindle each other. That's the path we're on now.*<sup>162</sup>

The white nationalist movement has been extremely resilient in morphing its ideology to the fears and needs of its adherents. Overall, the novels that the movement has produced have been enormously popular within the movement and inspiring, in particular *The Turner Diaries*. While the novels may not be popular among the non-white nationalist movement, studying them does fulfill one of Michael Foucault's dictums of studying the underclasses, as most white nationalists in the United States come from the working class or the lower middle class. Moreover, the ideology of the white nationalist movement has been identified by the popular culture as the most obvious example of racism and white privilege.

From the prism of the theories examined and proposed in Chapters Two and Three, it appears that the American white nationalist movement has used the novels it produces to express the culture of the movement, while at the same time using fiction to inspire its followers to 'get in touch with their whiteness' as it were. By rejecting the popular culture's ideological tenets, American white nationalist fiction is truly a revolutionary fiction that, far from being outside of the mainstream of American fiction, actually shows that true American spirit by criticizing the most egregious extremes of contemporary culture. Political fiction is obviously written to propagandize the positions held by the novelists. However, the differences between American white nationalist novels and other forms of American political fiction, such as the utopian novels of the 1880s and 1890s and the classics of political leftist fiction of the 1920s and early 1930s are many. Firstly, as was mentioned previously, white nationalist ideology and the novels it produces are viewed as being outside the mainstream of contemporary American culture. Therefore, the novels themselves are not well known to the general reading public. Secondly, the novels revel in using language and plots that are simplistic and, at times, vulgar. The use of uncouth terms such

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<sup>162</sup> Jack Donovan, *The Way of Men* quoted in "An Establishment Conservative's Guide to the Alt Right" by Allum Bokhari and Milo Yiannopolous, <http://www.breitbart.com/tech/2016/03/29/an-establishment-conservatives-guide-to-the-alt-right/> (access: 04.20.2016).

as ‘nigger,’ ‘faggot’ (for homosexual), and other derogatory words is common in the more revolutionary-oriented novels, with some novels imagining a dystopia in which whites have become slaves to the One World government or other associated groups, those groups being controlled by Jews, again, with various derogatory terms used to describe the ‘enemy,’ i.e. ‘ZOG’ (Zionist Occupation Government), or the ‘Beast/beast,’ depending on the author.

Finally, and more importantly, the history and evolution of the novels under discussion have gone from fringe novels known only to a few, namely those being the Redeemer or ‘Klan Apologia’ novels of the immediate post-Reconstruction period of the South, to bestsellers in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century—namely, Thomas Dixon Jr.’s *The Leopard’s Spots* (published in 1902) and *The Clansman* (published in 1905), which paved the way for the then new medium of film, with Dixon writing the screenplay for D. W. Griffith’s *The Birth of a Nation*. Also during the same period, the popularity of the various Yellow Peril and Red Scare novels was to be seen but this cycle of readers being enthralled with white nationalist fiction peaked with the fall of the Progressive-era Ku Klux Klan by 1925. Despite the fact that Dixon’s last novel, *The Flaming Sword* and William Twiford’s *Sown in the Darkness, A. D. 2000* were published right before World War Two, the popularity of white nationalist fiction had waned. *The Flaming Sword* is hardly known, even among specialists, while Twiford’s novel has been forgotten but both serve as the apex of how white national novels developed up to 1941.

From 1944 to 1978, no white nationalist novels were published; however, with the publication of *The Turner Diaries* in book form in 1978, a new chapter opened up for the genre as a whole. As a genre that grew out of the South and the cultural trauma of a defeated people, *The Turner Diaries*, pushed the genre into a more revolutionary direction. Far from reinforcing American ‘values’ of constitutionalism, gun ownership, and white supremacy, *The Turner Diaries* called for revolution, an overthrow of the government and a “day of the rope”—a mass extermination of minorities, homosexuals, ‘race traitors’ and others. This novel was followed by others within the fourth cycle, such as *Children of the Ice* by Walters, Gunnarsson’s *Hear the Cradle Song*, and ending with Kevin Beary’s anti-Political Correctness novel *The Savaged States of America*. Within this period, the white nationalist novel also returned to the South with Emory Burke’s *The Unlifted Curse*, again, a little known novel but one that paved the way for Gregory Kay’s neo-Confederate saga *The Third Revolution* and Lloyd Lennard’s defense of the Rebel flag in *The Last Confederate Flag*.

In the latest cycle, white nationalist novels have become more revolutionary and their vision has become clearer, though there is also some overlap with the so-called TEOTWAWKI genre, which grew out of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment gun rights genre of the late 1980s. This latest grouping has allowed the white nationalist genre to grow worldwide with the translation of various white nationalist novels into German, Russian, and Swedish. Three different innovations have also served to promote white nationalist novels, mainly desktop publishing, print per order publishing and the Internet. In particular, the Internet has served to spread the message of the American brand of white nationalism to all corners of the globe.

The rise of the American alt-right, the successful candidacy of Donald Trump, the advances of nationalist parties in various elections throughout Europe and the result of Brexit in 2016 all show that the ideology of white nationalism appeals to various sectors of the populations of white countries and far from being defunct, has adapted to suit the current culture, namely the so-called ‘alt right.’ It is hard to say what position, if any, the various white nationalist novels have played in the many recent political victories of right wing parties; although, it would seem that where the United States is concerned, it was more the ability of Donald Trump to channel the anger, fear and hatred of the establishment into a potent political force that propelled him to power than the novels of the white nationalist right. Furthermore, the backlash against prevailing cultural sentiments in the West have propelled white nationalist fiction into being more blatant about advocating a white separatist position rather than advocating old-fashioned white supremacy, such as was done in Thomas Dixon Jr.’s *The Clansman*, *The Flaming Cross* or the other novels of the Redeemers. Indeed, this feeling is reinforced by the article “A Conservative’s Guide to the Alt Right” by Allum Bokhari and Milo Yiannopoulos who came to the conclusion that:

The bulk of their demands, after all, are not so audacious: they want their own communities, populated by their own people, and governed by their own values. In short, they want what every people fighting for self-determination in history have ever wanted, and what progressives are always telling us people should be allowed—unless those people are white. This hypocrisy is what has led so many Trump voters—groups who have in many cases not voted since the 1970s or 80s—to come out of the woodwork and stand up for their values and culture.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> <http://www.breitbart.com/tech/2016/03/29/an-establishment-conservatives-guide-to-the-alt-right/>. “An Establishment Conservative’s Guide to the Alt Right,” by Allum Bokhari and Milo Yiannopoulos. Posted March 29, 2016 (access: 04.20.2016).

The above sentiments are echoed in the novels by H. A. Covington, Gregory Kay, Ward Kendall, D. A. Hanks, and others on the white nationalist right. However, the feeling that their race is being singled out for humiliation and denigration is a fairly new development and would have been found laughable in the United States a scant fifty years ago among the general population. It is extremely interesting that the same emotions associated with Trump's victory by the American political left were felt by the Confederacy at the time of its surrender in April, 1865.

The feelings of degradation, humiliation and revenge that many former Confederates felt at having lost the war were exacerbated by the attempt at overturning the South's racial and social order by the Radical Republicans during Reconstruction. The culture of defeat, as proposed by Schivelbusch, hints at a deeper psychological trauma that has yet to heal. During the second cycle, the Redeemer novels served to justify the actions of Southerners who fought for the Confederacy and who were involved in the actions of the Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan. While the novels produced by the white nationalist movement in later cycles serve a compensatory function in that they provide a more acceptable outlet for the anxieties, fears, and rage than waging war against the system, a few individuals have been inspired by the novels to take action against a system they perceive as oppressing them and destroying their race. Psychologically, the novels serve the further purpose of fictionally projecting the individual's authors hopes and dreams or 'wish fulfillment' but also by vicariously destroying the enemy, the novels allow for the "good guys" (from the white nationalist perspective) to win, something that has been denied since the end of World War Two or the end of the American Civil War, depending on the author.

It seems that the lessons of the rise of the first Ku Klux Klan have not been learned as has been shown in the examination of the ideas of psychologist James Gilligan and sociologist Thomas Scheff regarding shame and associated emotions. Since humans are social animals, feelings of shame isolate a person from the collective. However, in white nationalist ideology, the individual submits his or her will to the collective; although the seemingly endless criticisms leveled at whites, in particular, straight white males exacerbates social tensions and further isolates a segment of the population within the United States that still holds the overwhelming majority of privately held firearms and has since the founding of the nation. Indeed, as has been shown in Chapter Four, white nationalist fiction incorporates the idea of racial memory and racial spirit. Contemporary whites are felt, in white nationalist ideology, to be a part of a

collective flow of white history from when the first white tribes immigrated out of the Caucasus Mountains to the present day. Therefore, current Western culture, in emphasizing multiculturalism and diversity, it is felt by white nationalists, isolates and, more heinously, denigrates and attempts to shame the white nationalist for feeling as he/she does. These attempts at shame are reinforced by Hollywood and the overall popular culture in the white nationalist mind:

I do not need to tell you of the terrible and largely irreversible damage that Hollywood has done to the white race and to Western civilization over the past century. For four generations, the international bankers and the corrupt politicians have committed unspeakable crimes against humanity, especially war after war after bloody war they have plunged our people into for Jewry's sake, but it is Hollywood and Hollywood's mutant bastard spawn television that has made the white people of America and the world swallow these atrocities and actually support them with enthusiasm. It is Hollywood that has spent the past 50 years pushing every conceivable kind of perversion of body and mind down the throats of white people. It is Hollywood that has turned the loathsome practice of homosexuality into something cute and trendy, the subject for silly jokes, when it is in fact a poison of the very soul. It is Hollywood that has turned white women as portrayed on film into either mindless sex objects, or else de-gendered, masculinized, man-hating neurotics. It is Hollywood that has poisoned the minds and broken the spirits of generation after generation of white children who are now beyond recovery, and turned them into wiggers. The bankers have stolen our money. The federal government of the United States has stolen our lives and our freedom and soaked the earth with Aryan blood, spilled to save a filthy race of Asiatic parasites. But Hollywood has stolen our peoples' minds and souls, and in some ways that makes Hollywood more evil to my mind even than the sinks of iniquity centered in New York and Washington, D.C.<sup>164</sup>

In conclusion, it remains to be seen how influential the novels under examination in this work will be in the future. Collectively, they paint a very different picture of a future United States that is both utopian and dystopian, while the genre itself is revolutionary and reactionary. White nationalist fiction intersects with the TEOTWAKI genre and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment novels of the underground 'militia/Patriot' right; however, these novels still believe in the American system, while the white nationalist novel does not. As with most American forms of literature; the genre has shown itself highly resilient and capable of appealing to new generations of whites troubled by the inexorable march of time.

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<sup>164</sup> (Covington 2008, 273). This monologue was given by 'Red' Morehouse, one of the political leaders of the NVA —Northwest Volunteer Army, the group of white revolutionaries fighting to carve out a whites-only country in the Pacific Northwest. The speech was given in preparation for the NVA assault on Hollywood during the Oscar ceremony.

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## Summary in Polish/Streszczenie w języku polskim

Praca *Sen o rebelii. Amerykańska powieść białego nacjonalizmu a „kultura klęski”* analizuje ewolucję literatury białego nacjonalizmu w Stanach Zjednoczonych jako swoisty probierz produktywności tzw. „kultury klęski” w świetle psychologicznej i historycznej złożoności tego zjawiska. Mimo, że nie pretenduje do miana wyczerpującej ani definitywnej, niniejsze studium jest jedną z pierwszych prac podejmujących problematykę poruszaną częściej przez dziennikarzy, niż akademickich badaczy: naukowcy wydają się jej unikać lub ewidentnie ją ignorują. Opracowania podnoszące kwestie białego nacjonalizmu przy użyciu poważnego, ideologicznie neutralnego (tak dalece, jak to możliwe), instrumentarium metodologicznego pojawiają się rzadko – a w ich liczbie prac nawiązujących do prozy tego nurtu powstało dosłownie kilka. Z punktu widzenia badań humanistycznych, literatura białego nacjonalizmu pozostaje wobec tego *terra incognita*: nie doczekała się bowiem jeszcze pełnowymiarowego, monograficznego opracowania, nie stała się też obiektem szerzej zakrojonych projektów badawczych, które mogłyby rzucić jaśniejsze światło na źródła obserwowanych dziś, dzielących Amerykanów tarć, wokół których narastają konflikty. Choć przyczyny pomijania tej literatury wśród literaturoznawców i kulturoznawców mogą być różne w zależności od poglądów i uwarunkowań, w jakich pracują indywidualni badacze, wydaje się jednak, że przyczyny społecznego i politycznego napięcia – podpowierzchniowo, lecz nieustannie obecnego w codziennym życiu Ameryki już od końca Wojny Secesyjnej, a w ostatniej dekadzie kulminujące kulturalnym i etycznym kryzysem ery Trumpa – zasługują na pogłębioną refleksję. Z tego też powodu, niniejsze studium prozy białego nacjonalizmu – zwracające uwagę na zależność momentów szczytowych jej ewolucji i następujących po nich faz plateau od przemian w historii USA, ukazujące ciągłość i zmienność stałych lub powracających motywów przewodnich (odkupienie, *anagorsis*, zemsta, pamięć rodowa, rasa), a także wskazujące wielopokoleniowość grupy czytelników takiej literatury – podejmuje próbę postawienia hipotezy o produktywności kulturowej pamięci o klęsce i poniżeniu nie tyle w kontekście „narodu” (jak postrzegają siebie samych biali nacjonaści z Południa), ile w kontekście heterogenicznej dziś grupy dzielącej pewien system wartości, który kształtował przeszłość (już w sferze nieobecności), ale także stanowił fundament projektu przyszłości (zarówno tej, która nigdy nie nadeszła, jak i tej

potencjalnie wciąż możliwej) i był – lub dalej jest – podstawą powiązanego z nim ściśle poczucia indywidualnej i zbiorowej tożsamości.

Aby umożliwić czytelnikowi konsekwentny i teoretycznie ugruntowany ogląd zjawisk tkwiących u podłoża nieustającego konfliktu, którego żywotność ujawnia się przede wszystkim w czasach materialnego kryzysu i politycznego przesilenia, praca ta przyjmuje metodologiczną perspektywę zainspirowaną – między innymi – obserwacjami amerykańskiego psychohistoryka Joela Kovela, który zauważa, że „sztuka jest środkiem wspólnotowego wyrażania prawdy uwarunkowanej historycznie, lecz trwałej”, a jako taka otwiera psychologicznie spójny wgląd w mechanizmy odpowiadające za rozwój procesu historycznoliterackiego, które dały początek licznym dziełom – od pieśni ludowej po poezję i prozę. Jeżeli przyjąć powyższą konstatację za punkt wyjścia do dalszych refleksji, ważne jest, iż obierając w diachronicznych studiach nad kulturą perspektywę zorientowaną psychologicznie należy uznać, że ciągłość i zmienność motywów oraz tematów dzieł literackich (poziom treści) jest równie istotna jak sam fakt powstania tychże dzieł i czas kiedy się ukazują (poziom historii kultury materialnej), i jak intensywność produkcji literackiej twórców reprezentujących dany gatunek w danym momencie historii. Sztuka, jak dalej pisze Kovel, „w sposób najbardziej dokładny odpowiada wymogom myślenia psychohistorycznego: obejmuje jednocześnie to, co porusza jednostkę i to, co porusza masy”. Co więcej, jak twierdzi uczony, „artysta jest wartościowy o tyle, o ile zdolny jest sięgać wzrokiem poza kulturowe „tu i teraz”, poza kulturę dostępną bezpośrednio i pod jej powierzchnię, a patrząc w ten sposób potrafi wykreować nowy organiczny porządek postrzegania, który dzielić będzie z innymi”.

Ów stworzony przez artystę-pisarza „nowy organiczny porządek postrzegania”, który staje się udziałem innych leży w samym centrum zainteresowania niniejszej pracy. U podstaw jej wywodu leży bowiem założenie o tym, że „powieść jest najbardziej eksplicytnie historyczną ze wszystkich form artystycznej działalności człowieka”. Jako taka, pozwala się analizować jako źródło historyczne, którego opis może stać się punktem wyjścia dla rewizji istniejących dyskursów przeszłości, lecz jednocześnie można ją postrzegać jako portal umożliwiający wgląd w psychikę grupy. Powtarzalność pewnych tematów i motywów – która świadczyć może o ujawnianiu się pewnych tłumionych emocji podzielanych „organicznie” przez społeczność – wolno traktować jako klucz do zrozumienia mechanizmów odpowiedzialnych za powstawanie i niegasnącą popularność pewnych rodzajów literatury *niezależnie* od innych, socjopolitycznych

mechanizmów u podłoża procesów dotyczących literatury „głównego nurtu”, tej trafiającej do kanonu. Regularność, z jaką takie motywy pojawiają się w kontekście kultur naznaczonych piętnem klęski wskazuje na emocjonalne podłoże zbiorowej tęsknoty za porządkiem gwarantującym uznanie dla własnych – marginalizowanych lub postponowanych przez „zwycięzców” – wartości, stylu życia, czy celów. Dlatego też metanarracyjny dyskurs, jaki zdaje się organizować porządek u podstaw narracji w świecie przedstawionym powieści powstałych na gruncie kultur klęski można pojmować jako produkt wspólnotowej emocjonalnej potrzeby antidotum – dyskursywnego leku przeciwko zbiorowej traumie, alternatywnego paradygmatu interpretacyjnego, w ramach którego upodleni mogą postrzegać siebie jako uczciwych i szlachetnych a zwycięzcy jawią się jako złoczyńcy.

Postawienie takiej hipotezy uruchamia potrzebę odwołania się do całego spektrum intelektualnych/teoretycznych narzędzi wypracowanych przez różne dyscypliny humanistyki, włącznie z historią i historiografią (np. metahistoria), socjologią, teorią kultury, psychologią procesów grupowych i, oczywiście, literaturoznawstwem. Fuzja tych dyskursów teoretycznych generuje dyskurs hybrydowy, który we wstępnej części pracy został określony jako „historia literatury o podłożu psychologicznym” – czyli podejście badawcze postrzegające pojawianie się zjawisk literackich i rozwój procesu historycznoliterackiego jako przejawy stłumionych emocji, którym nie można dać upustu (albo nawet nazwać), ale które kompensowane są na drodze powoływanej do istnienia fikcji literackiej. Dla pisarzy-białych nacjonalistów – twórczość stanowi substytutowny kanał dla niemożliwego do uzewnętrznienia w żaden inny sposób sprzeciwu, ale jednocześnie – dla białych odbiorców o nacjonalistycznych poglądach – stanowi swoiste „centrum kondensacji” wspólnotowych wartości kultury klęski, portal do fantastycznego świata, w którym czytelnicy reprezentują obóz zwycięzców. Jak wykazuje niniejsza praca, niesłabnąca popularność powieści białego nacjonalizmu świadczy o trafności takiego teoretycznego podejścia i jego badawczym potencjale.

Na takim właśnie teoretycznym fundamencie niniejsze studium buduje analizę psychologicznie motywowanych mechanizmów historycznoliterackich, odpowiedzialnych za narodziny i ewolucję literackiego białego nacjonalizmu w Stanach Zjednoczonych – nacjonalizmu manifestującego się w tekstach tworzonych przez nieliczną grupę pisarzy dla niewielkiego segmentu białej populacji Amerykanów, którzy (politycznie i świadomościowo) nie nadążyli za pędzącym do przodu, podlegającym szybkim i nieodwracalnym zmianom światem

multikulturalizmu, zróżnicowania i globalnego rynku. Podobnie jak wszystkie amerykańskie formacje reprezentujące kolejne odmiany białego nacjonalizmu, poczynając od Know Nothings, poprzez American Protective Association i Ku Klux Klan epoki Jazzu aż do Tea Party dnia dzisiejszego i różnych organizacji określanych jako „alt-right”, także grupa stanowiąca obiekt refleksji w niniejszej pracy obawia się wszelkich zewnętrznych wpływów, trwając w „dotkliwym lęku przed pustką, doświadczając niemożliwej do zaspokojenia żądzy pewności, nurzając się w paranoicznych mitologiach konspiracji, gubiąc się w szaleńczych poszukiwaniach wiecznie umykającej tożsamości”, w ciągłym stanie niezadowolenia ze zmian, jakim świat podlegał przez ostatnie 150 lat.

W świetle powyższych obserwacji, praca ta stawia sobie za zadanie wypełnić niewielką być może, lecz istotną lukę w stanie wiedzy na temat literackich zjawisk, które w oczach badaczy literatury ewidentnie „nie zasłużyły” na poważny akademicki namysł – zjawisk odzwierciedlających ukrytą dynamikę tłącego się pod powierzchnią codziennych relacji konfliktu między „kulturą klęski” a dominującą „kulturą zwycięzców”. Czyniąc to, zasada się na bezstronnych metodologicznych fundamentach współczesnej psychologii grupy i badań historycznych, proponując świeżą teoretyczną formułę historii literatury o psychologicznych podstawach. Formuła ta czerpie inspirację ze współczesnej psychohistorii (wyjaśniając wydarzenia i zjawiska jako funkcję stłumionych emocji), jednak dokonuje reorientacji psychohistorycznego wglądu przekształcając refleksję której obiektem jest jednostka na refleksję której obiektem jest zbiorowość i trauma wpisana w zbiorową nieświadomość, a przejawiająca się zarówno w narodzinach swoistych rodzajów literatury jak i wyznacznikach ich popularności wśród odbiorców.

Aby osiągnąć cel i systematycznie przedstawić ewolucję prozy białego nacjonalizmu w takiej metodologicznej perspektywie, niniejsza praca rozpoczyna się od chronologicznego zestawienia dzieł prozatorskich reprezentujących twórczość amerykańskiego białego nacjonalizmu, co ma na celu zaznajomienie czytelnika zarówno z historią wydań kolejnych powieści, jak i z dziejowym zakorzenieniem tematów, które można uznać za wyznacznikowe dla tego (postulowanego) gatunku literackiego. Rozdział pierwszy pracy – na bazie Wstępu, w którym przedstawione są czytelnikowi założenia metodologiczne wywodu – przedstawia współczesny stan badań nad białym amerykańskim nacjonalizmem (z naciskiem na nieliczne prace podnoszące kwestię literatury) i wskazuje „białe plamy” na mapie wiedzy, które niniejsza

praca stawia sobie za zadanie wypełnić. Rozdział drugi wprowadza teorię „kultury klęski” Wolfganga Schivelbuscha i umieszcza ją na tle relewantnych dla niniejszego wywodu założeń psychologii grupy (np. funkcja „wroga”). Rozważania teoretyczne zawarte w rozdziale drugim przechodzą w refleksje nad uwarunkowaniami jednostki uczestniczącej w kulturze klęski, zaprezentowane w rozdziale trzecim, który rozpoczyna omówienie teorii Jamesa Gilligana poświęconych szacunkowi i przemocy, zawartych w monografii *Violence: Reflections of a National Epidemic*. Rozważania nad złożonością osobistego/jednostkowego zaangażowania w narracje białego nacjonalizmu rzucają nowe światło na logikę mechanizmów pojawiania się kolejnych (lub równoległych) cykli powieści reprezentujących ten nurt od czasu narodzin współczesnych białych ruchów nacjonalistycznych w Stanach Zjednoczonych. Refleksja na ten temat prowadzi z kolei do analizy literatury białego nacjonalizmu w kontekście teorii konfliktu zbiorowego Thomasa Scheffa wywiedzionej w pracy *Bloody Revenge: Emotions, Nationalism, and War*.

Powyższe złożenie oświetlających się wzajemnie stanowisk teoretycznych pozwala wypracować unikatowe narzędzie analityczne, umożliwiające odsłonięcie korzeni kulturowej traumy w kontekście rozwoju białego nacjonalizmu w USA i wyjaśnienie jej znaczenia w świetle powieści pisanych w omawianym nurcie, co stanowi treść rozdziału czwartego. Jak wykazują analizy historycznego zakorzenienia powieści w momentach socjopolitycznych przełomów w historii USA, białego nacjonalizmu nie sposób zredukować do prosto pojmowanego rasizmu: postrzegany przez pryzmat interdyscyplinarnych studiów nad kulturą, biały nacjonalizm okazuje się złożonym zjawiskiem psychologicznym, powiązanim z przemianami kultury materialnej i historii politycznej, który musi być analizowany w świetle kryzysu męskości, zaniżonej samooceny, upadku wartości i przekonań i utraty perspektyw na przyszłość wyobrażoną – a wszystkie te elementy spaja dodatkowo fantastyczna wizja przyszłości „potencjalnej”, która jeszcze może nastąpić.

Generalnie – powieści, na których koncentruje się wywód rozdziału czwartego wolno postrzegać jednocześnie w kategoriach *dystopii* i *utopii*: elementy dystopii przejawiają się w krytycznych przedstawieniach tego, co z punktu widzenia białego nacjonalizmu jest w Ameryce i społeczeństwie Zachodnim dnia dzisiejszego złe, zaś elementy utopii manifestują się w wizjach ucieczki od bieżących dylematów będących udziałem białych nacjonalistów oraz w kreowanych perspektywach świetlanej (białej, nacjonalistycznej) przyszłości. Ostatnia część rozdziału

czwartego poświęcona jest najważniejszym trendom współczesnej prozy białego nacjonalizmu i ma na celu ukazanie skomplikowanej sieci połączonych wzajemnie idei – konglomeratu zjawisk dowodzącego związków pomiędzy traumą, szczególnym odczytaniem historii i procesu historycznego w ogóle a ciągłością i zmiennością literatury reprezentującej gatunek, którego odrębność niniejsza praca postuluje. W podsumowaniu rozważań tego rozdziału akcent pada na problematykę mentalności współczesnych białych nacjonalistów w kontekście ich jednoznacznie negatywnego stosunku do współczesnych idei progresywizmu i zróżnicowania. Pracę zamyka rozdział piąty, w którym wskazane są kierunki dalszych badań nad literaturą białego nacjonalizmu i obszary wymagające pogłębionego naukowego opracowania.

Narodziny amerykańskich ruchów określanych mianem „alt-right”, sukces wyborczy Donalda Trumpa, pojawienie się różnych partii o nacjonalistycznym nachyleniu w parlamentach wielu krajów europejskich a ostatecznie wynik głosowania nad „Brexitem” w roku 2016 – wszystkie te zjawiska wskazują, że ideologia białego nacjonalizmu okazuje się atrakcyjna dla obszernego sektora ludnościowego w państwach, w których dominująca kultura jest kulturą zasadniczo białą. Ideologia ta okazuje się wciąż żywotna – i na tyle elastyczna, że szybko adaptuje się do warunków kultury dnia dzisiejszego dając początek odrębnej być może formacji „kultury alt-right”. Choć trudno byłoby wykazać w jakim stopniu (i czy w ogóle) literatura białego nacjonalizmu przyczyniła się do wyborczych sukcesów różnych prawicowo zorientowanych partii politycznych, wolno twierdzić, iż efekty nagłego przesunięcia akcentów przejawiających się w prawicowym sprzeciwie wobec dotąd dominujących kulturowych sentymentów świata Zachodu można dostrzec w niekamufowanej już i niemaskowanej bezpośredniości, z jaką współczesna proza białego nacjonalizmu promuje stanowisko „białego separatyzmu”, które zastąpiło „starą” ideologię białej supremacji. W takiej sytuacji staje się jasne, iż intelektualny protest o ideologicznym podłożu wymierzony przeciwko zalewającej przestrzeń publiczną retoryce białego nacjonalizmu po prostu nie wystarczy aby wyeliminować zagrożenie: choć jest istotny, nie zastąpi dogłębnych, metodologicznie ugruntowanych badań nad białym nacjonalizmem prowadzonych na podstawie poważnych analiz jego zakorzenionych w czasie i przestrzeni wytworów. Dopiero działania oparte na wiedzy mają szansę przełożyć się na skuteczną działalność edukacyjną, a w przestrzeni publicznej – na odpowiedzialność społeczną.

**Streszczenie w języku angielskim/Summary in English**

The present study—*Rebels Against the Dream. The American White Nationalist Novel and the Culture of Defeat*—approaches the evolution of the genre of white nationalist fiction in the United States as a touchstone to the productivity of the “Culture of Defeat” in its historical and psychological complexity. Even though it does not pretend to exhaustiveness or definiteness, the thesis addresses a phenomenon usually addressed by journalists and usually avoided (or ignored) by academic researchers: rarely ever, if at all, do scholars *methodologically* address the issue of white nationalism and, within this area, research on white nationalist prose is no exception. As *terra incognita* to Western academia, the literature of white nationalism has never become an object of a full-fledged, monographic study which could shed more light upon the present-day state of friction which divides Americans and around which conflicts escalate. Although the reasons for such a state of affairs may vary from scholar to scholar, the roots of social and political tensions—simmering in the background of daily life in the US since the end of the Civil War and, in the last decade, culminating in the cultural and ethical crisis of the Trump-era America—do merit closer investigation. Therefore, presented against the backdrop of American cultural history, the present study of the evolution of white nationalist prose—with its peaks and plateaus, its permanent or recurrent leitmotifs (redemption, *anagorsis*, revenge, blood memory, race) and its multigenerational audience—allows one to pose hypotheses concerning the power of the cultural memory of defeat and humiliation not as much of a “nation,” as the Southern white nationalists would see themselves, but of what today is a heterogeneous group of white people sharing a certain system of values informing the bygone past as well as underlying both the project of a future that has never come to be and the sense of individual and collective identity, closely tied to the above concepts.

To offer the reader a consistent, theoretically grounded, ideologically neutral insight into the essence of the persistent conflict, manifest, especially, in times of economic, political and social crises, this study adopts a methodological line inspired—among others—by Joel Kovel’s observation that “[a]rt is a means of expressing a historically conditioned yet enduring truth in a shared way,” allowing one to gain a psychologically sound insight into the mechanisms underlying the development of the literary-historical process that gave rise to a plethora of works of literature, including popular song, poetry and prose. Importantly, adopting a psychologically oriented position in a diachronic study of culture, one must acknowledge that the continuity and change of the themes and motifs of these works of literature (the level of the contents) are as



significant as the very fact of their coming into existence, the time of their appearance and the intensity of the output of the writers (the level of material culture). Art, Kovel continues, “meets most accurately the demand of psychohistory understanding: that it comprehend simultaneously what moves both the individual and the mass.” Furthermore, as the scholar suggests “[t]he artist is only worth-while to the extent that he can see beyond and beneath the immediate culture, and so seeing, can create a new organic order of vision to be shared with other men.”

It is precisely this “new organic order of vision to be shared with other men” that lies at the heart of this study. The central assumption underlying its argument is that among all the cultural products of a particular society “the novel is the most explicitly historical of art forms.” As such, the novel may be treated as a historical source, whose description may offer a starting point for revisions of the existing accounts of the past, but, simultaneously, it may be viewed as a window into the psyche of a group. Perhaps even more importantly, from the perspective of the literary historical studies adopted in this work, the recurrence of certain themes and motifs—allowing the repressed emotions ‘organically’ shared by the group to surface—may offer a key to an understanding of the mechanisms responsible for the coming into existence and continued popularity of certain types of fiction—irrespective of other, sociopolitical mechanisms underpinning the shaping of the mainstream, canonical literature. The regularity of the emergence of these motifs in the contexts of cultures who have suffered defeat may indicate the emotional underpinnings of the collective yearning for an order warranting the notability of one’s own—now denigrated—values, ways of life, and goals. Therefore, the emergent metanarrative may be understood as a product of the communal emotional want for an antidote to the trauma of defeat: an alternative interpretive paradigm in which the vilified may see themselves as virtuous and the victors are villains.

Such a hypothesis invokes the need to resort to intellectual tools developed across several disciplines, including history and historiography (metahistory), sociology, cultural theory, group psychology, and, of course, literary studies. The fusion of these tools produces what has been postulated in the initial section of this work as “literary history with a psychological foundation,” a research approach in which the emergence of literary phenomena and the development of the literary historical process are studied from the perspective of the manifestations of the repressed affects, the impossibility of the expression of which is compensated for by fictions. To the writers, these fictions provide a substitutive channel for the otherwise unspeakable protest and,

simultaneously, allow the readers sharing the values of the defeated community to indulge in a fantasy world where they are in the winning camp. As is demonstrated in this work, the constant popularity of the white nationalist novel within this community seems to testify to the efficiency of such an approach.

It is against such a theoretical backdrop that this work analyzes the psychologically motivated historical mechanisms underlying the birth and evolution of American white nationalism, as expressed in fiction created by (and for) a segment of the white population of the United States that has been politically (and psychologically) left behind by the fast changing world of multiculturalism, diversity and the global marketplace. Like all American white nationalist formations from the Know Nothings to the American Protective Association through to the Jazz Era Ku Klux Klan, the present-day Tea Party and various ‘alt-right’ organizations, the group under discussion in this work is wary of outside influences, “in the acute fear of the void, the never-satiated lust for certainty, paranoiac mythologies of conspiracy and the frantic search for ever-elusive identity,” and dissatisfied with the ways in which the world has changed in the past 150 or so years. This work, therefore, aspires to fill in a small gap in the map of knowledge of literary phenomena evidently deemed ‘undeserving’ of a serious academic study—phenomena reflecting the hidden dynamics of a simmering conflict between the “culture of defeat” and the dominant “culture of the victors.” In doing so, it relies upon unbiased methodological foundations of contemporary group psychology and history, proposing a fresh theoretical formula of literary history with a psychological foundation. This formula draws its inspiration from the assumptions of modern psychohistory (explaining events as functions of repressed affects), yet transforms its orientation to focus on a group trauma, which—grafted in the group’s collective unconscious—manifests itself both in the birth of particular types of fiction and in its popularity.

In order to achieve the goal of presenting the evolution of white nationalist fiction in such a methodological perspective, the present study opens with a chronological overview of white nationalist prose to facilitate the reader’s orientation in the publishing history and historically-keyed central themes of the (postulated) genre. Following the Introduction, which familiarizes the reader with the underlying methodological assumptions of the argument, Chapter One sketches the present day state of research on American white nationalism (with stress on the paucity of studies dedicated to white nationalist prose), indicating blanks in the map of

knowledge that this study sets out to fill, and thus substantiating its own *raison d'être*. Chapter Two introduces Wolfgang Schivelbusch and his theory of the “culture of defeat” and explores some of the tenets of group psychology of particular importance to the phenomenon under observation (the function of “the enemy”). The theoretical reflections presented in Chapter Two usher in the examination of the personal side of the culture of defeat in Chapter Three, which begins with an exploration of James Gilligan’s theories on respect and violence developed in his *Violence: Reflections of a National Epidemic*. Insights into the complexity of the “personal” investment in white nationalist narratives shed light upon the logic of the emergence of the various cycles of white nationalist novels since the onset of the modern white nationalist movement and ultimately, in the last section of Chapter Three, lead to the examination of the phenomena under study in light of Thomas Scheff’s theories on group conflict as presented in *Bloody Revenge: Emotions, Nationalism, and War*.

The above amalgam of theories is used to develop a unique tool helpful in getting to the root of the issue of cultural trauma and its meaning in American white nationalist novels in Chapter Four. White nationalism, as this study seeks to demonstrate, does not easily lend itself to being reduced to mere ‘knee jerk racism’: explored through a wide spectrum of interdisciplinary tools, it manifests itself as a profoundly complex psychological phenomenon involving material and political history, affecting the sense of manhood/womanhood, the perceived loss of respect, the destruction of values and beliefs, and the demise of a future that might have been, combined with the fantasy of a future that might still occur. Overall, the novels under examination in Chapter Four can be seen as both *dystopian* and *utopian*: dystopian in examining what is wrong, in the white nationalist context, with current American, and, more generally, Western society, and utopian in offering an escape from the current dilemma that is perceived by white nationalists and promising the possibility for something better. The last part of Chapter Four expands upon the most important trends in present-day white nationalist prose to illuminate the intricacy of the web of interconnecting ideas testifying to how trauma and a particular reading of history and historical processes combine to influence the continuity and change in this particular literary genre. While summarizing the findings, the last section of Chapter Four also delves into the mindset of contemporary white nationalists to show the implacable attitude towards contemporary ideas of progressivism and diversity. Finally, Chapter Five proposes areas for further research regarding white nationalist literature.

The rise of the American ‘alt-right,’ the successful candidacy of Donald Trump, the advances of nationalist parties in various elections throughout Europe and the result of Brexit in 2016 all show that the ideology of white nationalism appeals to various sectors of the populations of white countries and far from being defunct, has adapted to suit a new cultural current, unsurprisingly referred to as ‘alt-right culture.’ Yet, even if it is not possible to state with any degree of certainty what role, if any, the various white nationalist novels have played in the many recent political victories of right wing parties, it would seem that the backlash against prevailing cultural sentiments in the West has propelled white nationalist fiction into being more blatant about advocating a white separatist position rather than advocating “old-fashioned white supremacy” and that the ideologically driven intellectual protests against the white nationalist rhetoric flooding public space will simply not suffice as a replacement of thorough, profound, methodologically sound study of the movement through its cultural products set in time and space. It appears clear that it is only actions based on knowledge that stand a chance of efficiently affecting education and, in the public space, translating into social responsibility.